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COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

AND

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

Edited by

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI
M. A., Ph. D.
Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology,
Nagpur University.

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NAGPUR UNIVERSITY
1972

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(Papers presented at the Numismatic Seminars held
under the auspices of the Nagpur University
on 11th & 12th November, 1970)

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PREFACE

I

When the Nagpur University offered to host the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India, the latter, following the convention of holding seminars on some problems of interest to the students of Indian numismatics, requested the University to choose some suitable subject/subjects for the annual numismatic seminar/seminars to mark the occasion. It was decided, after careful consideration, to organise two seminars, one, and for that matter the main one, on the Coinage of the Sātavāhanas and the other on Coins from Excavations. The value of a sustained study of the various problems raised by these two topics can hardly be overestimated.

II

The Sātavāhanas, according to the present indications, were the earliest ruling family of the Deccan to issue an extensive series of coins presenting numerous types and denominations. This coinage was systematically studied for the first time by E. J. RAPSON in his celebrated *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kṣatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty and the Bodhi Dynasty* (*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. IV) which was published in 1908. During the period of over six decades that have elapsed since its publication a vast material bearing on the numismatic history of the Sātavāhanas has come to light as a result of stratified excavations and surface explorations. These discoveries have rendered some of the earlier notions about the Sātavāhana coinage untenable and given rise to some new problems besides adding several new types to those already known. Some of the Sātavāhana rulers who were earlier supposed not to have exercised the royal prerogative of issuing coins have now secured a place on the numismatic map of ancient India. Numismatists have, therefore, been feeling, for past some time, the necessity of consolidating the results of these new discoveries. This apart, the study of the Sātavāhana coinage possesses a regional significance as well, for Vidarbha formed a part of the Sātavāhana empire for some centuries. No apology is, therefore, needed for selecting the coinage of the Sātavāhanas as the subject of the main seminar which, it was hoped, would bring together all the important material bearing on this problem and thereby facilitate further studies on the subject.

III

The Seminar on the Sātavāhana Coinage took place on 11th November, 1970, the second day of the Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India, in the premises of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University. It began with the Convener welcoming the participants and making some opening remarks as to the objects of the Seminar. It was followed by the presentation of altogether eight papers which are included in Section I of the present volume.

Dr. Nisar Ahmad (I : 1 : 1) discusses the question of the attribution and typology of the Sātavāhana coins. His attention is particularly devoted to such of the coins about whose attribution there is some difference of opinion or vagueness. He also gives a list of coin-types issued by individual rulers specifying their characteristic features and associated symbols. Most of the attributions suggested by the author, it may be noted, are based on typological grounds.*

Prof. Bajpai (I : 2 : 27) brings to light six new Sātavāhana coins and discusses some problems of Sātavāhana numismatics in their light. Of these, the most important, of course, is the square copper coin of Sātakarṇi I manufactured according to the punch-marked technique (No. 1) which adds new dimensions to our knowledge of the evolution of the Sātavāhana coinage. Equally interesting is the Lakṣmī type cast copper coin of Sāta (No. 2) whom the author identifies with either Śaktiśrī or No. 6 of the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings. The 6th coin is a numerical addition to the few known silver coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

An attempt to study the religious and social life under the Sātavāhanas as inferred from their coins is made by **Dr. Gokhale** in the following paper (I : 3 : 31). The study is primarily based on the symbols occurring on Sātavāhana coins. As pointed out by the authoress herself, the relevant information gleaned from the coins is scanty.

Dr. Gupta (I : 4 : 41) studies at length the problem of the regional distribution of the coin-types of the Sātavāhanas. He classifies the types into numerous varieties on the basis of additional ancillary devices and occasionally discusses the question of the attribution of certain coins to individual kings. In course of his study he has offered several interesting suggestions bearing on Sātavāhana history and suggested some new attributions. He has, in particular, shown, for the first time, that some of the coins bearing the names Sātakarṇi and Sāta (or Sāti) were really produced according to the punch-marking technique.

Contacts and influences as revealed by the coinage of the Sātavāhanas are subjected to a critical study by **Dr. Lahiri** (I : 5 : 62). He thinks it quite likely that the Andhra–Sātavāhana rulers adopted the figure of elephant and tree-in-railing, which occur very commonly on Sātavāhana coins in cheap metals, from the 12-*ratti* 4–symbol silver punch-marked coins of the Singavaram (Krishna District) hoard. While admitting the indebtedness of the Sātavāhana portrait coins to the silver issues of the Western Kṣatrapas, it has been suggested that the use by some ruling families of peculiar metals like lead and potin for coining purposes and the adoption by them of the devices like the crescent-topped hill with a wavy line below and elephant and Ujjain symbol were inspired by the monetary issues of the Sātavāhanas.

Shri P. R. K. Prasad (I : 6 : 68) studies the genesis of the silver portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas. He suggests that the credit of initiating the portrait series is due to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and that the legend on the reverse of these coins is in Telugu, composed in one of the varieties of the metre called *Ragaḍa*, a purely *Deśī* type. This is, it has been observed, the earliest known Telugu sentence on record and supports the Andhra—Telugu origin of the Sātavāhanas.

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*The paper published in this volume is a revised version of the original paper read at the seminar.

SHRI I. K. SARMA (I : 7 : 75)* casts his net wide and makes a hurried survey of the regional distribution, sequence, chronology and historical significance of the Sātavāhana coinage. He assigns some of the known coin-types afresh besides listing the types under different kings indicating their geographical distribution. According to the chronological framework adopted by him, the Sātavāhana power came into existence in *cir.* 240 B. C. and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi flourished in *cir.* 54–88 A. D. It is also suggested that the Śaka era came to be re-christened as Śālivāhana era probably during the reign of Gautamīputra Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi.

The vexed problem of the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule is discussed by the Editor in a short paper entitled '*The Epoch of the Sātavāhana Rule : A Re-appraisal*' (I : 8 : 103). After noting all the relevant evidences, literary and archaeological, it has been concluded that a date about the middle of the first century B. C. reconciles all the available data on the subject.

While it should be left to competent readers to evaluate the quality and worth of the individual papers incorporated in this section, the foregoing survey would make it abundantly clear that the section taken as a whole will make a useful reading to all serious students of Sātavāhana history and numismatics. It may not be possible to accept all the suggestions offered by the different authors, but it will not be denied that they do afford some useful material. In fact, the main point about this section is that it brings together a good deal of important material bearing on the Sātavāhana coinage. A comparison with RAPSON'S *Catalogue* and RAMA RAO'S *List of Published Satāvāhana Coins* will reveal that the present volume lists many more coin-types and contains considerable new material not noticed by earlier writers on the subject.

However, there are a number of problems relating to Sātavāhana numismatics which still await sustained study. One of them concerns terminology. Many of the symbols on Sātavāhana coins have yet to be satisfactorily identified and designated, the names now in common use being either descriptive or convenient in the absence of better designations. And some of these nomenclatures have become so firmly rooted by constant use that they continue to be used even when better names are available resulting in a great deal of confusion. To cite only one example, it is now generally agreed that the device called *caitya* by some early numismatists is actually a hill symbol. But a perusal of some of the articles included in the present volume will show that some scholars, though aware of the correct position, still persist in the use of the wrong nomenclature, while some others employ both the designations indiscriminately. Still others use the correct name, but describe its peaks as arches. The value of a uniform and properly defined numismatic terminology can hardly be overemphasised. Another problem centres round typology and attribution of coins. It will be seen that many of the suggested attributions are based purely on typological grounds. It is still a question if typological considerations by themselves are enough to decide the attribution of a coin to one or the other member of the dynasty. Our knowledge about the metrology of the Sātavāhana issues in cheap metals is also very meagre. Let us hope that these and other problems of Sātavāhana numismatics will receive the attention they deserve.

IV

It is well-known that coins are often encountered in course of archaeological excavations, and a scientifically recorded stratigraphic condition of their discovery is of great value for studying the relative chronology of the various series of coins as well as political history and historical

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*The published paper is a revised and somewhat abridged version of the original paper.

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geography. It was, therefore, hoped that a stock-taking of the different series of early Indian coins discovered in stratified excavations would help unravel some of the mysteries shrouding the ruling families, localities or peoples responsible for issuing them.

The Seminar was held on November 12, 1970, and the deliberations were conducted by **PROFESSOR K. D. BAJPAI**. In all, four papers were presented, and they form Section II of the present volume.

The Tribal and Local Coins of Northern India found in excavations are studied by **DR. BELA LAHIRI** in her paper with which the Section opens (II : 1 : 115). It will be seen that in a majority of cases excavated evidence supports the findings of **ALLAN** who was the first to study these series of coins in a systematic manner.

The next paper by **SHRI SAHI** is devoted to a study of the bearing of the coin data discovered in the Rupar excavations on the history of the Audumbaras. It is suggested that although the Audumbaras became independent after the downfall of the Mauryas, they rose to prominence about the end of the second or early first century B. C. as indicated by the discovery of their coins in the mid-levels of Period IV datable to pre-Kuṣāṇa period (II : 2 : 125).

DR. GUPTA (II : 3 : 128) discusses the Sātavāhana coins from excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur), Chandravalli and Nevasa and concludes that at Brahmapuri the Kuras were supplanted by the Sātavāhanas and that Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi probably flourished in the first century A. D. The existence of more than one early king bearing each of the names Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana is also suggested. It has also been pointed out that at Nevasa Period IV began about the 1st century A. D. and ended in the 2nd century A. D. and Period V should be dated from the 2nd to the 3rd–4th century A. D.

PROF. BAJPAI (II : 4 : 141) takes stock of the Gupta coins from some recent excavations. The historicity of the Gupta King Rāmagupta known from literary tradition, he points out, is vouched for not only by the discovery of his copper coins in stratified excavations at Eran and Vidiśa but also by the three recently discovered Jaina image inscriptions referring to *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāmagupta.

It will thus be seen that the papers included in this section, like those in the previous section, give some food for thought. Other series of early Indian coins also deserve to be studied from this point of view. Such a study is, however, hampered by the fact that a major portion of the numismatic material recovered from excavations is still lying unpublished and is not available to numismatists for study. The publication of this material is bound to add substantially to our knowledge of early Indian coinage and history.

V

A few words are called for about the editorial policy and the arrangement of the contents. The editor has confined his efforts to making the papers presentable. In some cases the language had to be slightly altered, but while doing so care has been taken to retain the ideas intended to be communicated by the contributors, the responsibility for the views expressed in individual papers resting with their respective authors. At a few places references have also been checked, but it was not possible, and perhaps not necessary, to do so in respect of all the papers. Some of the papers reveal a wide divergence of opinion on one and the same question. In many such cases cross-references have been made in the editorial notes inserted in the references. It is regretted that the discussion on the papers could not be incorporated for some unavoidable reasons. In Section I, papers have been arranged serially under the authors' names in an alphabetical order. It could be possible as no chronological problem was involved. In Section II, however, papers have been arranged in a chronological order, for the arrangement according the names of the authors would have landed us in a serious anachronism.

Although the inaugural address by DR. V. B. KOLTE, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, did not form part of the numismatic seminars, it has been included in the present volume as it marked the beginning of the 59th Session of the Numismatic Society of India, as also of the 4th Archaeological Congress, on which occasion the seminars took place. The same is the case with DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM'S Presidential Address.

VI

In the end, it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my indebtedness to all those who contributed to the success of the seminars. First and foremost, the Department is obliged to DR. V. B. KOLTE, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, who took keen interest in holding the seminars and made necessary funds available. The success of the seminars is, in a large measure, due to his patronage and personal interest.

I must also thank the office-bearers of the Numismatic Society of India for accepting the invitation of the Nagpur University to hold the 59th Session at Nagpur. Grateful thanks are also due to the participants of the seminars.

I am grateful to PROF. S. B. DEO, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University, for taking personal interest in the organisation of the seminars and the publication of the present volume, and to PROF. K. D. BAJPAI, Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugar, for conducting, at my request, the deliberations of Seminar II, as its Convener, DR. DEO, was busy with the 4th Archaeological Congress which was in session simultaneously. I must also record my appreciation of the ungrudging co-operation of my colleagues, students and the technical and administrative staff of the Department in making necessary arrangements for the seminars.

Last but not the least, my sincere thanks are due to SHRI S. L. TURILE, Superintendent, Nagpur University Press, and his assistants for their willing co-operation in seeing the volume through the press.

Ajay Mitra Shastri

Nagpur :
April 12, 1972.

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SEMINAR II

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59TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
and
4TH ANNUAL CONGRESS OF THE INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, NAGPUR.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

By

Dr. V. B. Kolte
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University.

Professor Sankalia, Professor Mahalingam, Distinguished Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to extend to you a hearty welcome to this historic city of Nagpur. I am particularly happy that the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India and the 4th Annual Congress of the Indian Archaeological Society are being held here under the auspices of the Nagpur University. I am beholden to them for accepting our invitation. I am delighted to observe that these two eminent Societies are meeting here in the wake of the archaeological excavations conducted by the Post-graduate Teaching Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of this University, at Pauni, which has, surprisingly enough, yielded one of the biggest stupas in India. Archaeologically, therefore, the region of Vidarbha, and for that matter, the University of Nagpur, has rightly earned itself a venue for such scholarly deliberations that you are going to have for the next two days.

The Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture is not a very old Department of this University. It had its origin in 1955 when the ex-Chief Justice DR. M. B. NIYOGI bequeathed to this University a munificent donation of his imposing residential building — Ambā Vihār — for starting this Department. Since then the Department has been making steady progress under the guidance of eminent scholars like DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR and Mahāmahopādhyāya DR. V. V. MIRASHI.

A new dimension to the Department, however, was given by Prof. S. B. DEO, who has delved deep into the archaeological mysteries of this region of Vidarbha, and has put Vidarbha on the archaeological map of India. I compliment the Archaeological Society of India for electing him as President of the 4th Annual Congress of the Indian Archaeological Society to preside over its deliberations and offer him my heartiest congratulations. Within four years of his assumption as Professor, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of this University has excavated at Paunār (Wardha District) in 1967, Tākalghāṭ (Nagpur District) in 1968 and Pauni (Bhandara District) in 1969–70. The latter site was excavated in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India, and the excavations were held for two consecutive seasons. I feel proud of the fact that the Paunar Report was published within one year, the Takalghat Report is just out and the Pauni Report is under processing. It is indeed a unique achievement for this University.

It is but proper that you have chosen this place for your deliberations. For Vidarbha is rich archaeologically and fruitful from the point of view of numismatic data. The Kingdom of Vidarbha was well-known in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. Bhīma, the King of Vidarbha, is mentioned in the *Aiteraya Brāhmaṇa* as having received instructions regarding the Soma juice. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* mentions the sage Kauṇḍinya of Vidarbha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells the story of King Daṇḍa, son of Ikṣvāku and grandson of Manu, who led a voluptuous life. On account of a curse of sage Bhārgava, his entire kingdom was destroyed by a terrible dust storm. Subsequently the entire region lying between the Vindhyas and the Śaivala mountains came to be known as Daṇḍakāraṇya.

The royal house of Vidarbha was matrimonially related to several princely families of North India. The Vidarbha princesses Damayantī, Indumatī and Rukmiṇī, who were married to Nala, Aja and Kṛṣṇa respectively, are well-known figures of classical Indian literature. Similarly in the historical period, the matrimonial relations between the Vākāṭakas and the Guptas are also well-known. Several great Sanskrit and Marathi poets from Kālidāsa onwards have drawn the themes of their works from the romantic lives of these epic heroes.

The first excavation in Vidarbha was conducted by the late lamented Dr. M. G. Dikshit under the auspices of the Government of Maharashtra. The Kauṇḍinyapura Report, which was published by the Government of Maharashtra, has shown how the site of Kauṇḍinyapura was occupied as far back as the pre-historic period. Dr. Dikshit showed promise of fresh archaeological discoveries. It is a pity that such a promising career was cut short prematurely.

Paunār was the first site selected by the Nagpur University. Paunār, as you are well aware, has been identified with ancient Pravarapura, the capital of the Vākāṭakas who ruled over Vidarbha and adjoining territories from the 3rd to 6th century A. D. Paunār, along with other parts of Vidarbha, was included in the Aśokan Empire in the 3rd century B. C. This is eloquently borne out by the existence of a fragmentary edict of the Mauryan Emperor at Deoṭek in Chāndā district. The results of the excavations at Paunār have shown that the antiquity of Paunār can be stretched back to the first millennium B. C. when it must have been a tiny fishing hamlet. In this proto-historic period, the site was occupied by the first farmers of Vidarbha. They subsisted on fishing, farming and hunting. They were possibly assisted in hunting by ferocious dogs which have been praised in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* as being superior even to tigers whom they would kill in combat.

Tākalghāṭ in Nagpur district is a megalithic site. Here the vestiges of human habitation are furnished by Stone Circles. These sepulchral monuments contained copper and bronze weapons, iron tools and earthen pots and a large number of beads of various types and shapes, all going back to 8th century B. C.

Paunī has proved to be the most spectacular of all the sites of Vidarbha excavated so far. It contains several large stupas. One of them has proved to be the biggest stupa of India — almost double the size of Sanchi, — equipped with a number of sculptures which can approach only Bharhut in their stylistic conception. Indeed the findings of Paunī are dazzling. While one stupa is rich in sculptures, the other abounds in coins of the Sātavāhana period. The discoveries at Paunī have abundantly proved the existence of a well laid-out and large Buddhist establishment. More than that, it has given us an important landmark in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist Art.

I fervently believe that Paunī will inspire archaeologists to make further discoveries in this region of Vidarbha and thus will help us in reconstructing the history of India in general and of Vidarbha in particular. It is high time that archaeology, with all its modern techniques and implements, comes to the rescue of historians to fill up the unexplained gaps of Indian history.

In this task, the role of Numismatists is also formidable. You are aware that this region has so far yielded quite a variety of coins. The most notable of such evidence is the hoard of Tarhāḷā. Subsequently also, coins of the Sātavāhanas, the Kṣatrapas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins have been found. I would, therefore, appeal to the Numismatists assembled here to give a dynamism to the study of numismatic data from this region as well as elsewhere.

I hope the archaeologists and the numismatists of this august gathering will deliberate over these problems along with various other connected issues. I wish them all success. Once again I extend to them a most hearty welcome and assure them our warmest hospitality.

* * * *

59TH ANNUAL SESSION
OF
THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
NAGPUR

10th November, 1970.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

DR. T. V. MAHALINGAM, M. A., D. LITT.
Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and
Archaeology, University of Madras.

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Distinguished Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am deeply beholden to the Executive Committee of the Numismatic Society of India for the signal honour it has done me by electing me its President for the current year. Please do not think that I am conventional when I say that I feel very much embarrassed on account of my limitations to hold this high office. My contributions to Indian numismatic studies are very little. I have neither attended any of the sessions of the Numismatic Society of India nor helped it in any manner in its organisation and work. But I value the honour greatly and take my election as an opportunity given to me to meet here many distinguished scholars whose contributions to Indological studies have served as a model and source of great inspiration to me in my work in the University of Madras. I hope that with your indulgence and co-operation I shall be able to discharge my duties here and maintain the high standard of work achieved by the Society under the guidance of eminent scholars who have preceded me in this office.

The recent years have witnessed a growing awareness of the cultural heritage of the country and the need for the discovery and dissemination of knowledge on different aspects of Indian culture. The importance of the study of subjects like art and archaeology at the university level is gaining due recognition. A number of universities in India have started new departments which are called Department of Ancient History and Archaeology or Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology or Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture or simply Department of Archaeology, and organised post-graduate M. A. degree courses in which numismatics necessarily finds a place. Most of the States in the country have organised Archaeological Departments. The Archaeological Survey of India which is running a School of Archaeology is giving training to students in archaeological work and studies. All these have created greater interest in the study of numismatics; and this is well evidenced by the increase in the number of scholars engaged in the study of the subject. Such studies have helped in bridging to some extent certain gaps that existed in our knowledge of the numismatic history of the country and in finding probable solutions to questions that were previously eluding scholars. But there are still many problems which are difficult of solution largely on account of the non-availability or inadequacy of necessary evidence for the proper identification of coins, the determination of their dates and their place in the economic history of India I propose to consider in the course of this address some of the problems relating to South Indian numismatics.

It has been said that the coinage of South India "presents greater difficulties to the student and offers less reward for his labours than that of the North". It is probably on account of that reason that studies made so far on South Indian coins are strikingly inadequate in relation to the available material. Studies on South Indian coins were commenced in 1858 by Sir Walter Elliot who published two papers entitled "Numismatic Gleanings", in one of which he described the punch-marked and Sātavāhana coins and in the other Puri Kuṣāṇa coins of Orissa. In 1886 he brought out his *Coins of Southern India*, an indispensable publication for a study of South Indian coinage. Two other early numismatic scholars who deserve mention here are G. Bidie and R. H. C. Tufnell. The first of them wrote in 1883 a paper on Pagoda or *Varāha*, and two years later, the second described thirty-five coins and wrote his *Hints to Coin Collectors in South India*. In 1882 J. Gibbs brought to light the Rāmaṭaṅkis and in 1887–88 J. E. Tracy discussed fifteen copper coins of the Pāṇḍyas. Mention should also be made here of Laventhol's *Coins of Tinnevelly* which was also published in the last century. Among other notable names to be mentioned in this connection are those of Codrington, the author of *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Rapson, the author of *Indian Coins*, Smith, the author of the *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* and E. Hultzsch, who has contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary*. Indian scholars began to write from the beginning of the present century and among the earliest of them was R. Srinivasa Raghava Ayyangar, who brought to light some Coḷa, Cālukya, Yādava and Vijayanagar coins. T. Desikachari was another notable numismatist who was the author of three works (1) *South Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics*, (2) *South Indian Coins* and (3) *The Pāṇḍyas and Choḷas and Their Coinage*. M. H. Krishna contributed a number of articles on South Indian coins to journals and also presented a thesis on Deccan Numismatics for the London University (unpublished). D. R. Bhandarkar and R. Srinivas brought to light some Western Cālukya coins while J. F. Fleet has described the Eastern Cālukya issues in a number of papers. Rev. Heras has written some articles on a few Vijayanagar coins, while the Andhra Pradesh Government have published a catalogue of the Vijayanagar coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum prepared by A. Ramesan. In recent years C. H. Biddulph brought out two monographs, one on the coins of the Pāṇḍyas and the other on those of the Coḷas. To this list may be added the late Vidya Prakash, the author of *Coinage of South India — An Introductory Survey*. T. G. Aravamuthan, formerly Curator for Numismatics in the Government Museum, Madras, and the author of a monograph on *The Venetian Coins in the Madras Museum* (published by that Museum) was a numismatist of repute and has written many articles. In his recent demise South Indian numismatics has lost a dedicated scholar. The above bibliographical survey is neither exhaustive nor selective. There are also others, who through their work and writings have shown interest in the study of South Indian numismatics and contributed to our knowledge of the same.

Some of the conclusions arrived at by the pioneering scholars mentioned above may require reconsideration in the light of fresh discoveries and recent researches; but the credit of initiating studies on an almost neglected and difficult branch of Indian numismatics goes to them only. In recent years the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* has published a number of informative papers on the subject; but still certain fundamental questions remain for consideration, as I shall presently attempt to show.

Though a considerable number of punch-marked coins have been found from different parts of Tamil Nadu, particularly in the southern districts of the State, it is difficult to say anything definite about their chronology; and in the absence of a solid chronological basis, these coins cannot be easily fitted into the numismatic frame of the country. However, a tentative suggestion may be made regarding a possible line of approach to make a relative assessment of their period. The silver *denarius* of Augustus is found in association with punch-marked coins at Pennar in the Coimbatore District and other Roman coins assignable to the middle of the first century A. D. have been found from the hoards of punch-marked coins at Toṇḍamānattam in the South Arcot District and Mambalam in the Madras City, indicating thereby that punch-marked coins were in circulation during that period, at least in the regions in which they have been found in association with the above-mentioned foreign coins. This surmise is strengthened by the occurrence of a coin of the Sātavāhana period (first century A. D.) along with punch-marked coins in the excavations at Chandravalli in Mysore. But the chronological extent of their circulation in different parts of South India still remains vague. A bulk of these coins in the collection of the Government Museum, Madras, had been found in different places in the Pāṇḍya country and archaeological excavations at chosen sites in the region may throw further light on the period when these coins were in circulation in the area.

The punch-marked coins discovered in the North have been classified as Pre-Mauryan, Mauryan and Post-Mauryan issues. But though many of the symbols of the South Indian issues may be similar to those in the North, it is doubtful if the same chronological denominations will have any relevance in the South Indian context. The political factors and local conditions prevailing in the region are to be kept in mind. As an example, I may mention that the peacock-on-mount symbol is generally assigned to the Mauryan period, since it was one of the symbols of the Mauryan dynasty. But coins bearing the same symbol have been obtained from the Madurai district in the extreme south which, we know for certain, was outside the Mauryan Empire, and hence these coins cannot be fitted into that chronological frame.

The question of the upper and lower limits of the period of the punch-marked coins in the South may probably be advantageously considered with the help of the numerous *graffiti* symbols found on potsherds belonging to the early period and brought to light by archaeological excavations. The pottery which bears these *graffiti* marks are the Black-and-Red Ware, the Russet-coated-painted Ware and the Red-slipped Ware which are ascribable in South India to a period from *c.* 5th century B. C. to *c.* 4th century A. D. The symbols like the Sun, crescent Moon, Mount, *Triśūla*, ladder, conventionalised fish, trees, human figurines and other symbols like plus marks, cross marks, etc. are found occurring both on the potsherds and on many punch-marked coins of South India. On the basis of the similarity of these symbols found on both of them it may possibly be postulated that the lower time limit for the punch-marked issues of the South was *c.* 500 B. C. As to the upper time limit for the coins we have noticed above that they were in circulation in the first century A. D. The similarity of the *graffiti* marks like human figurines and conventionalised fish found on the pottery from Arikamedu datable to the first century A. D. confirms this. It may be pointed out here that silver punch-marked coins of the Bodināyakanūr hoard have invariably fish as their reverse symbol. Since the find spot is near Madurai and in the Pāṇḍya country these coins were probably issued by the Pāṇḍya rulers who had the fish as their emblem.

An allied question is the authorship of the coins. This question has been studied in detail with reference to the North Indian issues. But in the South it still remains to be tackled. Not all the issues could have been made by the rulers. Likewise the symbols on the coins. Though some of them may have some religious significance, some may have other and yet unknown meaning. It is not difficult to trace a few of them to as remote a period as the Harappan times.

The latter half of the period when punch-marked coins were in currency in South India synchronised with what is known as the Sangam age in South Indian history, a period characterised by remarkable literary activity when most of the earliest Tamil works are believed to have been composed. In these works are found stray references to gold coins. The *Padirṟuppattu*, for instance, states that the Cēra king Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai gave to the poet Ariśil Kiḷār a present of 9,00,000 gold *Kāṇams*. Aḍukōṭpaṭṭu Cēralātan gave a gift of 1,00,000 gold *Kāṇams* to the poetess Kākkaippāḍiṇiyār and Karikāla presented 16,00,000 *Poṇs* (gold coins) to the poet Rudran Kaṇṇaṇar for his work *Paṭṭiṇappālai*. Presumably *Kāṇam* was a small gold coin. The *Padirṟutuppatu* also mentions *Kāp-Pon*, obviously meaning quarter of a *poṇ*, a gold coin. A study of the coins mentioned in the Sangam works and their value and their identification or comparison with the coins of the period obtained from excavations will be interesting and useful.

Till recently there was a gap in our knowledge of the history of South Indian numismatics between the period of the punch-marked coins and that of the Pallava and Pāṇḍya issues. The recent discovery of a hoard of over hundred lead coins with Tamil-Brāhmī legends from Āṇḍippaṭṭi in the Chengam taluk in the North Arcot District helps us considerably in bridging this gap. The coins which are in the collections of the Government Museum, Madras, have not yet been published in detail. The legend on them reads *Aṭiṇam Etirāṇ Ŝēndan*, from which it may be deduced that they were issued by a Ŝēndan. Considering the palaeography of the legend on the coins, they are assignable to the second century A. D. and the symbols usually seen on Sātavāhana coins like mount, wavy line, etc. are seen on them. This numismatic discovery is of considerable palaeographical significance because the letter *E* in Etirāṇ has a dot inside it. In *Sūtra* 16 of the *Tolkāppiyar*, its author Tolkappiyar, the earliest known Tamil grammarian, states that *E* and *O* have dots added to them (*Ekara Okarat tiyarkaiyum aṟṟe*), i. e. the letter *e* with dot should be pronounced as short *e*. The Aṇḍippaṭṭi hoard has conclusively demonstrated that the old Tamil letter *e* did have a dot as laid down by Tolkāppiyanar. It is of interest that the letters in the Drāviḍī inscriptions in the Tamil country exhibit the same characteristics.

Along with these coins in the Tamil-Brāhmī characters mention should be made of the recent view that one of the languages in the bilingual silver issues of the Sātavāhana king Vāsiṣthīputra Sātakarṇi is Tamil. These coins were studied by Rapson, Altekar, Sircar and Dinkar Rao. Sircar who read the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Arahanaṣa Vāhiṭṭi Makanaṣa Tiru Hatakaniṣa* (i. e. of the king Sātakarṇi the son of Vāsiṣṭhī) took the language of the inscription as Telugu of the ancient Dravidian dialect as may be seen from the use of such words as *arahana*, *makana* and *tiru*. Since the letter read as *ha* by Sircar, does not appear to have the bottom curve turned to the right and as it resembles *ca* of the early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions, Nagaswamy reads *arahan* as *araśan* and postulates that the language of the legend is Tamil. Following the method adopted by Buhler in deciphering the Bhattiprolu script he reads *mākan as makan* and feels that the whole legend should be read as *aracanaṣa Vacitti makanaṣa tiru Catakaṇiṣa*. Here also as in the Aṇḍippaṭṭi coins one finds the practice of marking the *pure consonant* with a dot (*puḷḷi*). The discovery that Tamil was employed along with Prākṛit as an additional language in some of the Sātavāhana coins outside Tamil Nadu is of considerable significance.

Mention may also be made here of the find of a few coins in Tamil Nadu which have been assigned to what are known as the Kaḷabhras. Though the problem of the Kaḷabhras is still a "mystery" in South Indian history, the coins assigned to them are of more than ordinary interest.

The next stage in the history of South Indian numismatics is represented by the Pallava coins. It is now generally agreed that the coins with the lion motif which were previously supposed to be Pallava issues really seem to belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, and that coins bearing the relief of a bull may be safely attributed to the Pallavas. A considerable number of coins of this type found inside and outside the area of the Pallava dominions have been published. Among them are a few which were recovered from Mamallapuram. One of them with a star on the reverse reads *Śrībhara* and another with a fish on the reverse reads *Śrīnidhi*. *Śrībhara* and *Śrīnidhi* were *birudas* of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman II (691–728). But special reference must be made here to seven thin lead coins unearthed during the excavations at Kāñchīpuram by Dr. R. SUBRAHMANYAN in 1963. In all the coins the relief of the bull is artistic, and interestingly enough no legend is seen on them unlike in the coins of a similar type of the Sātavāhanas. Stratigraphically these coins have been assigned to sub-period I B, which corresponds to the early Pallava period beginning from about the commencement of the third century A. D. Likewise in the excavations recently conducted by me in the same town was found a mould for minting coins with the symbol of a bull which looks very much like a few ones illustrated in ELLIOT's *Coins of Southern India* (Pl. Nos. 32, 33, 34 and 37). It is also assignable to the early Pallava period. These numismatic discoveries are of particular interest because they have some bearing on the contention of some scholars that the earlier capital of the Pallavas was not the present Kāñchīpuram which they occupied only in the sixth century, but the Periya-Chinna Ganjam complex in lower coastal Andhra. This view rests mainly on the argument that the earlier copper-plates of the Pallavas were issued only in the present day Andhra Pradesh and not in or near about Kāñchīpuram. But the discovery of coins with the Pallava *lāñchana* at Kāñchīpuram itself in a vertical excavation where date is being convincingly determined by stratigraphy should, I think, be taken into account in the consideration of the question of the original capital of the Pallavas. The value of the find of coins for fixing the chronology of a site can hardly be exaggerated, particularly in vertical excavations where the importance of stratigraphy is well recognised and this is borne out by a number of other excavations in the country among which may be mentioned those at Rupar, Ahichchhatra, Nasik, Brahmagiri, Elleswaram, etc.

Another aspect of South Indian numismatics that deserves greater attention than it has received so far relates to Pāṇḍyan coinage. C. H. BIDDULPH in his recent monograph on Pāṇḍyan coins has brought together all the available data on the subject, but there are still many problems in it. Though Paṇḍya inscriptions refer to *tiramam* (*dramma*), *kasu*, *panam*, etc., the specific attribution of extant specimens of these to particular kings still remains problematic. The early Pāṇḍyan issues are copper coins and have the fish emblem along with devices associated with Cōḷa and Cāḷukya coins. Some of them bear the legend *Sundara* or *Sundara Pāṇḍya* or just the first letter *Su* in the name. The Pāṇḍyan pedigree consists of more than one Sundara Pāṇḍya and the attribution of these coins to any one among them is difficult. There are some coins which are supposed to bear the legend *Vīra Pāṇḍya*, though the reading has been doubted by some. Some other Pāṇḍya coins bear legends which are titles like *Kōdaṇḍarāma*, *Kaccialangum Perumāḷ*, *Bhūtala Ellāntalāiyaṇan*, *Parāśurāma*, *Kulaśēkhara*, *Samarakolāhalan*, *Bhuvanaikavīra*, *Kōnērirāyan*, *Kaliyugarāman*, etc. For the attribution of these coins to particular kings one has to look for the different titles of the kings in their inscriptions and find out which king bore which title. This itself is a problem because medieval

Pāṇḍyan genealogy bristles with problems at almost every stage of our pursuit of the subject. From the available evidence the genealogy and dates of the kings have been generally arranged as follows :—

Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1162 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1190 A. D.
Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1216 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1237 A. D.
Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1238 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1251 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya	acc.	1253 A. D.
Māṛavarman Kulaśēkhara	acc.	1268 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1276 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya	acc.	1296 A. D.
Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya	acc.	1303 A. D.

It is also known that at least a few Pāṇḍya kings were ruling simultaneously in different parts of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Further titles like *Ellāntalaiyaṉan*, *Kōdaṇḍarāman*, etc. that are found on the Pāṇḍya coins are also mentioned in some of the inscriptions of these rulers. But that does not help us much since there are more than one ruler with the same name. Let us take for instance the title *Ellāntalaiyaṉan*, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others have ascribed the title to Jaṭāvaram Sundara Pāṇḍya acc. 1251 A. D. who also had the titles *Kōyil Ponmeynda Perumāḷ*, *Seranai veṉṟān*, etc. But this identification does not lend itself to easy acceptance since the inscriptions with the title *Ellāntalaiyanan* reveal that they form a group and stand apart from others. If we classify the medieval Pāṇḍyan inscriptions on the basis of royal *praśastis* it may not be difficult to recognise that the title *Kōdaṇḍarāman* was borne by Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya acc. 1303 A. D. and hence coins bearing that title can more convincingly be attributed to him. But such clues are not available for most of the titles and hence the problem of their correct attribution still remains unsettled.

The Cōḷa coins have been dealt with in a short compass by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and next to him by C. H. Biddulph. The monograph on the *Dowlaiswaram* (*East Godavari*) *Hoard of Eastern Chālukya and Chola Coins* by T. Balakrishnan Nayar shows that two groups of the much-discussed Cōḷa coins in them contain the legends *Kaṭṭaikoṇḍa Cōḷaṉ* and *Malaināḍu—Koṇda Cōḷaṉ*. He attributes them probably on surer grounds to Kulōttuṅga I, while K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has read the legends as *Kangaikoṇḍa-Cōḷaṉ* and *Malaināḍukoṇḍa Cōḷaṉ* and attributted them respectively to Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa and Rājakēsari Rājādhirāja I. It should, however, be said that the problem of Cōḷa coins is not as complicated as that of the Pāṇḍya coins, though much work remains to be done on them also.

It may be mentioned that such coins as *kāṇam* and *kāśu* so frequently mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions are referred to in a few later Pallava inscriptions belonging to the period of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅgavarman. This shows that some coins were in continuous circulation in certain areas in spite of dynastic changes, though their value could have differed from region to region.

A point of interest and significance in South Indian numismatics is the striking nature of the variations one notices in the value of the *kāśu* in different regions in the same period. A comparative study of Pāṇḍya inscriptions in chosen period in the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries would reveal that the value of the *kāśu* was several times more in the Pāṇḍya area proper than what it was in the Cōḷa area even though both the areas were under Pāṇḍya overlordship. For instance, inscriptions of Māṛañjaḍaiyan, identifiable with Varaguṇa II (752-780) have been found in many places in the Cōḷa territory; one of them from Kumbhakōnam records the gift of 138 cows and 100 *kāśus* for two lamps in the temple of Nāgēśvarasvāmī at the place and another from Lālguḍi in the Tiruchirapalli district refers to the gift of 120 *kāśus* for the provision of one lamp. But an inscription of the same king from Tiruppattur in the Pāṇḍya country records the gift of only ten *kāśus* for a lamp. In Pāṇḍya inscriptions one hears very often of *paḷaṅkāśu* which means old *kāśu*. In fact the *paḷaṅkāśu* appears to have been current as late as the period of the later Cōḷas. We learn from a few of their inscriptions that for endowing a lamp two or three *paḷaṅkāśus* were enough, while, in one instance, as many as 1100 current *kāśus* were required for the same purpose. Even when the Pāṇḍya country was brought under Cōḷa hegemony the value of the coins does not appear to have changed. An inscription of a Cōḷa viceroy from Ambāsamudram in the Pāṇḍya country mentions only ten *kāśus* in connection with a lamp.

The above references naturally lead us to a consideration of the value of inscriptions for a study of the currency systems in medieval South India. The Tamil inscriptions alone from the Tamil country and the adjoining areas and belonging to the period roughly from the ninth to the fourteenth century contain references to as many as eighty kinds of coins in gold, silver, copper, etc. current in the Cōḷa empire. The *kaḷañju* and *mañjāḍi* so frequently mentioned in Cōḷa inscriptions were units of bullion weight. The *pon* was a gold coin which was of the weight of a *kaḷañju*. The *māḍai* was a standard coin, half of which was the *kāśu*. There were local issues of the *māḍai* too, to which there are numerous references in inscriptions, showing that each area in the empire had its own local currency. In the later Cōḷa period there were copper *kāśus* too, whose value must have been low as gleaned from the evidence of an inscription which says that a *kaḷañju* of gold was equal to $411\frac{7}{3}$ *kāśus*. To add to these there appear to have been current in the Cōḷa empire some types of coins from Ceylon which were known as *Iḷakkāśu* or *Iḷakkaruṅkāśu*. Similarly the inscriptions in the Karnāṭaka and Andhra areas belonging to the same period mention a number of coins. Though some of such issues from the Tamil country contain the names of the kings who issued them, a good many of them bear only their titles. Many of the titles can be traced to the kings or provincial rulers, who bore them, and the issuers of the coins can be identified. Taking into account the names of the issuers of the coins and the general provenance of the coins themselves, questions like the imperial or provincial nature of the issues, their date, the metal of their make, their fineness, etc. may be studied. The ratio between the value of one type of coin and another is also mentioned in some of the issues. If the study of coins should include also a consideration of their usefulness for a study of the economic history of the period and the area to which they belong, as I think it should, one has necessarily to take the help of inscriptions for it. A beginning was made in this direction by K. G. KRISHNAN now Superintendent in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It deserves to be pursued.

The discovery of a large number of Roman and other foreign coins from different places in South India adds a new dimension to South Indian numismatics. Though a number of such Roman coins belonging to the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa periods have been found at different sites in North-West and North India also, on account of the political and cultural relationship between the Kuṣāṇa Empire and the Roman Empire including North Africa, their provenance in the South is of considerable significance. They seem to have been in circulation or at least in use in places which had Roman contacts during the period from about the 1st century B. C. to the 2nd century A. D.

Roman contacts with South India during the period as also in the succeeding centuries are also borne out by archaeological evidence like Roman pottery, amphorae jars, dyeing watt, etc. Recent excavations at places like Arikamēḍu, Uraiyūr, Kāñchīpuram and Vasavasamudram in the Tamil area and Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in Mysore have established beyond doubt the cultural and trade contacts between South India and the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. Hence the find of Roman coins as also other indications of Roman contact bear out the extent to which and the period during which Roman cultural traits found their way into the South Indian coastal and inland areas. In the consideration of Roman coins in South India one is faced with problems like :

(1) Were the Roman *dinarii* accepted as regular currency or only as bullion weights as WHEELER thinks ?

(2) Did they influence the local currency?

(3) Were the punch-marked coins coeval with the Roman *dinarii*? If so, what was the relation between them?

These are problems to which categorical answers may not be possible in our present state of knowledge. For an examination of such questions there is need for more reliable data about the coins with reference to their find spots, weights, legends, etc. and the provenance and nature of indigenous coins obtained from such places. The association of foreign and indigenous coins found in a few places in the country may suggest that both of them were approximated. Inscriptions are also of some help in the consideration of these questions. An inscription of Māṛañjaḍaiyan from Tiruppattūr mentions the *dīnāra* which was probably equal to an indigenous *kāśu*. From another inscription it is learnt that the coin *Drachma* (*diramam*) was current in the country and an old *kāśu* fetched 1½ *diramam* as interest, showing thereby that the old *kāśu* was of 'higher value than the *diramam*'. The mention of a coin called *dīnāri māṣaka* in a few Ikṣvāku inscriptions may suggest the influence of Roman coins on Ikṣvāku coinage. A few Ikṣvāku coins seem to have been imitations of Roman issues. Likewise the currencies of some foreign countries were in circulation in the Vijayanagar Empire, particularly in places where foreign merchants had settled. Among them were the *cruzado* (Portuguese), *dinar* (Egyptian), *florin* (Florentine), *ducate* (Venetian), etc.

Questions like these emphasise the need for a proper study of the foreign coins in the country through the ages. Mention was made earlier that the Government Museum, Madras, has brought out a publication on the Venetian coins in the Museum, written by the late T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. The Roman coins in the Museum are now being studied. Chinese coins have been found in a few hoards collected by the same Museum. An interesting inscription of the time of Rājēndra Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷa dated in his seventh regnal year (1019 A. D.) from Nāgapattinam in the Tanjore District makes reference to one Śrī Kuruttan Kēśavan *alias* Agralekai who consecrated an image of Ardhanārigal in the temple called Tirukkārōṇam at the place, to which he made three endowments namely, (1) 87¾ *kaḷañju* of *cīnakanakam* for worship on the occasion of *avibali* (*havirbali*), (2) another equal amount of the same *cīnakanakam* for feeding devotees and (3) still another amount of 60 *kaḷañju* of *undigai pon*, probably a particular type of coin. There is thus evidence to prove the currency of Chinese coins in South India, as in some other parts of the country. The subject requires careful study. It may be of considerable interest that a few excavations in South India have yielded pottery of Chinese origin. Also a bilingual inscription in Tamil and Chinese has been found in China.

Friends, one word more, and I shall have finished. The points I have tried to raise above in the study of South Indian numismatics would, I am sure, show that there is need for a lot of planned work to be done in the subject. One of the difficulties in such work is the want of reliable and classified descriptive catalogues of the coins stored in many of the museums in the area. Occasional notices of the finds of hoards of coins from one place or another raise rather than solve problems in the subject. The find of Kuṣāṇa coins in a hoard from Petlurivaripalem in the Guntur District and Pūri Kuṣāṇa coins from Salihunḍam in the Visakhapatnam District, both in Andhra Pradesh, far away from the Kuṣāṇa empire is an instance in point. Catalogues for the coins of some of the South Indian dynasties kept in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum have of course been brought out; similar catalogues for the coins of many other dynasties, collected and kept in the Museum, have to be prepared. Likewise useful catalogues have to be made by competent men for the thousands of coins stored in the Government Museums in Tamil Nadu and Mysore. Probably some of the coins in the Museums may be the same as the ones mentioned in the inscriptions referred to earlier. There are a number of enthusiastic collectors of coins in South India who have with them valuable collections. It is highly necessary that such collections are made available to *bona fide* numismatic scholars for study. In recent years the office of the Government Epigraphist for India has collected a good number of coins. Notices of them are being published in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*. But a full study of the coins has to be made, which cannot obviously be done in the absence of a qualified and full time Numismatist in the office. There is, besides, good need for a band of knowledgeable young scholars who can devote themselves to a study of Indian numismatics. To my mind it appears that the requisite qualifications for a good numismatist in our country are a sound knowledge of the history of India and the countries with which it came into contact from early historic times, a good knowledge of ancient Indian languages and scripts and real love for the subject.

I feel that there is great necessity for a comprehensive encyclopaedia on Indian numismatics providing detailed information on different types of coins, with particular reference to their denomination, value, metrology, legends, symbols and iconographic motifs on them. This can serve as an easy and useful reference book for the rising numismatists. The task is however difficult, and, therefore, it cannot be undertaken by one single scholar. The work requires the co-operative effort of specialists from different regions. I cannot think of a more competent organisation than the Numismatic Society of India to undertake this stupendous task. I have no doubt that this Society and all the scholars in the field will give this suggestion their most earnest consideration.

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SEMINAR PAPERS

SECTION I

SEMINAR I

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

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SEMINAR I

COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

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I : 1

ATTRIBUTION AND TYPOLOGY OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINS

By

NISAR AHMAD

I

The Sātavāhana coins which are attributed differently or vaguely are dealt with here[1].

Sātakarṇi I

Coins with the legends *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* or *Raño Sātakaṇisa* are found from Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra and Gujarat. As more than one king in the Sātavāhana dynasty had this name, scholars are not unanimous on the attribution of these coins.

RAPSON thinks that coin Nos. 5, 6 and 7 of *BMC*[2] which bear the name of *Sātakarṇi*[3], on the basis of 'certain characteristic features', appear to have belonged to East Malwa whose ancient name was Ākara and which was included in the "Andhra dominions in the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who is called king of Ākara". After him it was lost to Rudradāman and therefore this Sātakarṇi 'may be either Gautamīputra or some earlier king'[4]. TRIVEDI says that these coins were issued by Sātavāhana, the originator of the Sātavāhana house[5]. But these coins are typologically dissimilar from the definitely known coins of king Sātavāhana. Further, two of them, Nos. 5 and 6, clearly bear the legend --*ṇisa* and as all the three coins are typologically related with each other[6], probably all had the same legend. Hence these coins cannot be attributed to king Sātavāhana and the legend suggests them to have been issued by a king named Sātakarṇi. The crude representation of the elephant on these coins leads us to identify this king as Sātakarṇi I.

The lion type coins Nos. 8-12 of *BMC*[7] are taken by RAPSON to have been issued either by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi or some earlier king[8]. GOPALACHARI assigns them to Sātakarṇi II[9]. RAMA RAO also lists them as the coins of Sātakarṇi II[10]. But the reverse type of these coins is similar to the earlier ones. Hence these coins may be attributed to Sātakarṇi I. A lion type coin discovered at Nasik[11], though ascribed by TRIVEDI and GUPTA to Gautamīputra[12], is similar to these coins of the lion type, and may also be assigned to this Sātakarṇi. A few lion type coins found by GADRE from Kāmrej and Kārvān in Gujarat[13] resemble in type and fabric the said coins of *BMC*. The lion type coin published by DIKSHIT[14] may also be attributed to this king on the typological considerations. A lion type coin reported by ALTEKAR[15] is also similar to the coins of *BMC*.

About the homo type coin obtained from Nasik[16] DIKSHIT writes : 'There is, however, no uncertainty about the reading and the coin is attributed to one of the three Sātakarṇis of the Sātavāhana dynasty, very probably the third'. ALTEKAR rightly observes that the human figure appears more like the figure of Kārttikeya occurring on Ujjain coins[17]. Further, this coin has the incuse marks as on the Ujjain coins. This coin bearing the name of Sata(kaṇi) is imitated from the coins of Ujjain and may well be ascribed to the money-introducer of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The Ujjain type coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṁṇisa* found from Kāmrej in Gujarat[18] typologically falls into the earlier Sātavāhana coinage. But among the earlier rulers only the coins of Sātakarṇi I are found from this region. Hence this coin can also be assigned to this ruler.

Sāti Śri

Nearly a dozen coins with the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* or *Raño Siri Sātisa* and *Raño Sātasa* are discovered so far. They are in five types namely : Homo[19], Elephant[20], Ujjain[21], five symbols[22] and Bull[23].

RAPSON writes that 'the oldest coins of the Andhra Dynasty seem undoubtedly to be those with the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*'[24] (Nos. 1 and 2 of *BMC*). He attributes them to West Malwa and takes them to be issued by Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghat relievo inscription and of the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela[25]. KATARE assigns these coins to Sātakarṇi I[26]. DIKSHIT is inclined to ascribe them to Sātakarṇi I or Sātakarṇi II[27]. GUPTA feels that 'he may have been either a predecessor or successor of Sātakarṇi, as the types of the coins of Sāti and Sātakarṇi, published by KATARE, are similar in all respects but the legend'[28]. MIRASHI once thought that these coins were issued by King Sātavāhana, the originator of the family[29], but later on rightly suggested that the coins with the legend *Sātisa* were issued by Sāti of the Nānāghat inscription of Nāyanikā[30]. This is supported by the typological similarities of the coins of Sāti with those of Sātakarṇis I and II.

Sātakarṇi II

A good number of coins with the name of the King Sātakarṇi are found, but strangely enough RAMA RAO in the latest list of the published Sātavāhana Coins assigns all coins to Sātakarṇi I except four which he ascribes to Sātakarṇi II[31]. While the *Matsya Purāṇa* assigns 10 years and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* 18 years for the reign period of Sātakarṇi I, all the Purāṇas speak with one voice that Sātakarṇi II ruled for 56 years[32]. Hence it is reasonable to hold that majority of the coins bearing the name of Sātakarṇi in all probability were minted by Sātakarṇi II.

The coins with the name of Sātakarṇi found from the Nevasa excavations, though attributed by the excavators to Sātakarṇi I[33], seem to have belonged to Sātakarṇi II. These coins have the tree symbol with solid leaves[34]. We can also trace a link between the coins of Sātakarṇi I and this prince. The leaves on the coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I are shown in the outlines[35]. On coin No. 59 of *BMC*, ascribed to Sātakarṇi II by RAMA RAO, the leaves of the tree are represented with the outer and a central line[36]. Hence the coins with the name Sātakarṇi, having solid-leafed tree, in all probability may be assigned to Sātakarṇi II who had a long reign.

MIRASHI published a coin of bull type from the collection of Hurmuz Kaus[37]. He identifies the symbol to the left of the tree as *triratna* but it is *yya*-like symbol. Further, 'a spherical object on either side of the top of the tree' is probably taurine. It may also be noted that the tree has five branches of solid leaves. He identifies this king with the son of Simuka Sātavāhana and the husband of Nāganikā, i. e. the third king mentioned in the Puranic list. But the solid leaves of the tree on this coin lead us to take it to have been issued by Sātakarṇi II. Another coin of bull type from the same collection published by him[38], though without legend, appears to have been issued by this ruler as suggested by the *yya*-like symbol. TRIVEDI also reports a coin of bull type[39]. This specimen too has the solid five-leafed tree and hence it can also be ascribed to this king. The bull type coins published by RAMA RAO are attributed by him to Sātakarṇi I[40], but the form of the bull suggests that they belong to Sātakarṇi II. The bull type coins of Nevasa bearing the name Sātakarṇi, though ascribed to Sātakarṇi I[41], may, judging from associated finds, be assigned to Sātakarṇi II.

Similarly, the elephant type coins of Nevasa which bear the name of Sātakarṇi[42] may also be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. A coin of elephant and lion type published by TRIVEDI[43] can also be assigned to this king as the lion is represented well on it. The coins of elephant and Ujjain symbol type, published by RAMA RAO[44], though ascribed by him to Sātakarṇi I, may well be taken to have been issued by this monarch. A coin of Ujjain symbol type reported by KATARE and assigned to Sātakarṇi I[45] has the solid-leafed tree and may be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. A coin of bull and Ujjain symbol type published by RAMA RAO is ascribed to Sātakarṇi I[46], but the form of the bull on this coin suggests that it was probably issued by Sātakarṇi II. The tree type coins catalogued by RAMA RAO and attributed to Sātakarṇi I[47] have the tree with solid leaves and can also be attributed to Sātakarṇi II. An animal and six-arched hill type coin is published and attributed to Sātakarṇi I by RAMA RAO[48]. The animal is identified by him as bull, but it seems to be camel. The elaborate form of the hill suggests that the coin was issued by Sātakarṇi II.

Successors of Sātakarṇi II

So far eight coins bearing the name of King Sātavāhana are found from Warangal[49], Aurangabad[50] and Ahmadnagar districts[51]. They belong to two types : elephant and bull.

Regarding the identification of this prince, MIRASHI first pointed out that the characters of the coins with the legend *Raño Siri Sadavahanasa* are somewhat earlier than those of Nānāghat inscription[52] and later on observed that "these characters leave no doubt that the coins belong to about the same age as the Nānāghat inscription"[53]; but he holds that "both Simuka and Kṛṣṇa were probably descended from a king named Sātavāhana who preceded them"[54]. KATARE suggests that "he was the successor of Śrī Sāta or Sātakarṇi and, as such, may be identified with prince Sātavāhana of the Nānāghat cave relievo inscription."[55] SIRCAR writes that these coins were issued by Simuka Sātavāhana[56]. DEO writes at one place that the rectangular bull type coin found at Nevasa on palaeographical ground belongs to 2nd-3rd century B. C. and that the rest "to a later period", and that "we have at hand an evidence which points out the existence of several kings bearing the name Sātavāhana who can be placed between a span of nearly three hundred years, i. e. from 3rd century B. C. to about the first century B. C."[57] He holds that coin Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 7 of Plate VIII, "which have remarkable affinity to the coins of Siri Sātakarṇi I which occur in slightly upper levels at Nevasa, may be tentatively assigned to that Sātavāhana who was the son of Kaṇha and the father of Sātakarṇi I"[58]. Elsewhere he says that this Sātavāhana of Nevasa coins was Sātavāhana of Nānāghat record who succeeded his father Sātakarṇi[59]. The Nevasa coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I may preferably be assigned to Sātakarṇi II. As the coins of King Sātavāhana occur in the top level of Period IV and the coins of Sātakarṇi come from the lower level, this prince may be taken as the successor of Sātakarṇi II. GOPALACHARI also feels that these coins were issued by the successor of Sātakarṇi II, but he identifies this prince with Lambodara of the Puranic list[60].

Only one coin of the elephant type with the legend *Raño Siva Sirasāpīlaka* and the blank reverse is found[61]. It reminds us of the repousse (struck on one side) coins of South Kosala. It seems that the family of Āpīlaka was put in charge of this region with the expansion of the Sātavāhana territories and this prince declared himself independent when the central Sātavāhana power weakened.

RAMAYYA publishes a coin of elephant type with the obverse legend *Hatamakasa*[62]. He also notices a legend, *ma* and *tha* clear and the other letters indistinct, on the reverse. The illustration is bad and hence nothing can be said with certainty regarding the reverse legend. This coin can be attributed to Meghasvāti.

An elephant type coin with the legend *Satasa* is published by MIRASHI who thinks that it was issued by a later king[63]. RAMA RAO[64] attributes the coins of the Caitya and Horseman types which have the legend *Siri Sa*(*tasa*) or *Raño Sātasa* to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[65]. These coins may be attributed to Svāti, No. 10 of the Puranic list.

The coins of three-arched hill and Ujjain symbol type with the legend *Raño Vasiṭhiputasa Siri Cada Satisa* are recorded by RAPSON[66]. He restores the name as Śrī Candra Sāti. RAMA RAO takes the name to be Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi. We prefer to restore it as Candra Svāti[67]. He seems to have flourished before Vijaya Sātakarṇi.

The three-arched hill and Ujjain type coin published by MIRASHI[68] was attributed to king Hāla[69], but now it is ascribed rightly to Puḷamāvi I. DINKAR RAO reports[70] another coin of this king in this type. A coin of bull type published by DEO[71] can well be attributed to this king.

The three-arched and ten-arched hill type coins with the legend *Sadasa* are catalogued by RAMA RAO[72]. He attributes them to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but we prefer to call them as the issues of Śiva Svāti, the predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The elephant type coins with the legend *Kosikipu* (*tasa*) *Sa*........[73] are tentatively assigned by MIRASHI to the Sātavāhana dynasty. He also holds that 'the complete legend may, in that case, have been *Raṁño Kosikiputasa Sātakaṇisa*'. He further says that the palaeography of these coins suggests that "this Sātakarṇi was probably one of the later kings of the dynasty and may have been one of the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Several of them are known to have borne the name of Sātakarṇi and issued coins, *viz.*, Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and Śaka Sātakarṇi, but except in the case of Yajña, Caṇḍa and Śaka, we do not know the names of their queen mothers. Kauśikīputra may have been the metronymic of one of these later Sātakarṇis"[74]. SIRCAR refutes : "There is, however, really no valid reason to believe that all the coins referred to were issued by a peculiar king styled Kauśikīputra. The suggestion that his name was Sātakarṇi is only imaginary and, therefore, extremely doubtful, not to speak of his ascription to the Sātavāhana family"[75]. It is certain that not a single specimen contains the proper name of the issuers, perhaps *sa* following Kauśikīputra is the first letter of *Siri*. Further, these coins cannot be assigned to any of the successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi. But the typological features, seven-leafed tree and four connected circles on the obverse of these coins, take Kauśikīputra near Sātakarṇi III.

GADRE published three elephant type coins from Kāmrej and Kārvān in Gujarat bearing the legend — *miputasa* and attributed them to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[76]. ALTEKAR in the editor's note writes : "We can definitely read Gotami on some coins and the issuer may well have been Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. But Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi is also known to have conquered Southern Gujarat and it is not impossible that some of the indistinct coins may have been his issues"[77]. However, the figure of the animal represented on these coins is similar to that occurring on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and not Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi. Hence, they may be attributed to the former.

TRIVEDI describes two coins of the collection of Shri N. R. Advani as follows[78] :—

Coin No. 1 :

Obverse : Elephant, with trunk upraised, standing; above Ujjain symbol, some indistinct fragmentary symbols on either side of the animal.

Reverse : Eight-armed symbol (not spoked).

ALTEKAR thinks that the symbol on the reverse 'is probably tree with large leaves'[79]. GUPTA claims to have examined the coin personally and, therefore, he is 'sure that the symbol is an eight-armed *cakra* composed of eight arrows, without any central disc'[80]. But actually it is tree with seven solid leaves. ALTEKAR also observes on its obverse that 'the first letter seems to be *ka*; it is perhaps followed by a *na*'. Hence he thinks them to be the part of the name of Sātakarṇi[81]. The tree with seven solid leaves occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. And, therefore, this coin can be attributed to this monarch.

Coin No. 2 :

Obverse : Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging and the legend.

Reverse : Four straight lines crossing one another at a central point and ending on both sides in what look like petals[82].

GUPTA thinks that 'the symbol on the reverse of both the coins is similar'. Hence he takes it as 'eight-armed *cakra* composed of eight arrows, without any central disc'[83]. But this symbol looks as a palm tree.

TRIVEDI writes : "The legend is blurred and the upper portions of its letters are truncated, but it is very probable that in all it contained eight or nine letters. Near the upper part of the tail of the animal, there is a letter clearly to be read as *ta* and following it, there are traces of what looks like *ma*". Hence he is 'inclined to complete the name in the legend as Gotamīputa'[84]. But still the proper name is absent and hence it is difficult to attribute it with certainty as two rulers with this metronymic existed in this family.

However, on the similarity of the representation of the elephant on this coin with that of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi it may be ascribed to this ruler.

The silver caitya type coins with the legend *Raño Gotami*--are taken by ALTEKAR to have been issued by Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi[85], but CHINMULGUND[86] and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI[87] attribute it to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The second suggestion seems to be correct.

Puḷumāvi II

Rama Rao describes a coin, found along with other coins in a broken pot at the village of Padagupada, as follows[88] :—

Obverse : Caitya of three arches surmounted by crescent, faint traces of letters.

Reverse: Ujjain symbol of four thick pellets and a thin cross.

Rama Rao does not attribute it to any king[89]. Siddiqui writes that this coin is similar to that published by him which he ascribes to Sātakarṇi IV[90]. But no coin of this ruler with crescented three-arched hill is found. Perhaps Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi was the last ruler to issue the coins with this device[91]. Rama Rao writes that the coins of this hoard 'cover the period from Sātakarṇi IV to Śrī Yajña'[92]. As the present coin comes from the hoard, we may assign it to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, the predecessor of Sātakarṇi IV.

The coins of Rudra Sātakarṇi are placed by Rama Rao after Puḷumāvi IV[93], the last King of the Puranic list. Perhaps the last king to issue the coins with the crescent on three-arched hill was Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi. Hence he may be placed after Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[94].

Sātakarṇi IV and His Successors

The coin Nos. 1968 and 1462 found from the Nevasa excavations are regarded as the coins of 'Later Sātakarṇis'[95]. But the legend *Siri Sātakaṇi(sa)* suggests them to have been issued by Sātakarṇi IV.

Altekar describes the obverse of a coin as follows[96] :—

'To left, tree in railing; at the bottom, elephant with trunk upraised; above the elephant to r., *svastika* symbol.'

Altekar writes : "What looks like a letter in the extreme left is really a portion of the tree. In front of the elephant is railing and above the railing is not tree but the letter *jña*". Rama Rao attributes it to Sātakarṇi I[97] and I for the time being place it in the coinage of this king.

Of the two coins of elephant type published by Altekar[98], one is ascribed to Sātakarṇi I by Rama Rao[99], but it can tentatively be assigned at present to Sātakarṇi IV. The attribution of the large number of coins of the Tarhala hoard to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by Mirashi[100] has no justification and hence they should be assigned to Sātakarṇi IV. The legend on a coin deciphered by Dinkar Rao as *(Rajño) Cakora Sātakarṇi(sa)*[101] is correctly read as *(Rā) jño Sātaka(ṇisa)* by Mirashi[102] who says that 'it was issued by one of the several Sātakarṇis who belonged to the family'. This coin can be attributed to Sātakarṇi IV. An elephant type coin attributed by Rama Rao to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[103] may be ascribed to Sātakarṇi IV. The bull type coin with the legend *(Sa)takaṇi(sa)*[104] and the lion type with the legend *Raṁno Sarisa*[105] of the Nevasa excavation can also be placed in the coinage of this king. Two coins of ten-arched hill type kept under the heading of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[106] may also be ascribed to this ruler.

The legend *Saka Sa(da)sa* on the lion type coins[107] is restored by Rama Rao as Śaka Sātakarṇi[108]. We think that the name of this Sātavāhana King was perhaps Śaka Svāti and place him after Sātakarṇi IV. Mirashi published four coins of the elephant type of the Tarhala hoard as the issues of Śaka Sātakarṇi[109]. But the last letter *ka* is read only on one specimen[110] and there, too, it does not look like that. Hence this coin can also be attributed to this king.

On four coins of three-arched-hill type RAPSON reads the legend as *Raño Vasiṭhipu(ta..) ra Puḷamāvisa* and attributes them to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi. We feel that these coins also had the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputra Siva Siri Puḷamāvisa* and hence we attribute them to Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi and His Successors

Some of the coins of the solid caitya or hill type which bear only the metronymic legend are also attributed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, but we feel that there is no sound justification for this and hence we have kept all the coins of this type with only the metronymic legend *Gautamīputra*[111] in the coinage of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

The name of the king whose coins have the legend *Raño Siri Caḍa Sātisa* is sanskritized as Candra Śāti[112]. This name should be taken as Caṇḍa Svāti. The coins of Kumbha Sātakarṇi are placed by RAMA RAO after Puḷumāvi IV[113]. But the representation of the elephant on these coins shows that he preceded Puḷumāvi IV. Similarly, coins of Karṇa Sātakarṇi are placed by RAMA RAO after Puḷumāvi[114], but he appears to have preceded the latter. The coins published by DEO[115] and HURMUZ KAUS[116] with the legend-*māvisa* because of the degeneration in the representation of the elephant should be attributed to Puḷumāvi IV. The coins with the legend *Siri Khada* (or *Caḍa*) *Sataka(ṇisa)* are attributed by MIRASHI to Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi whom the Purāṇas call as the son and successor of Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi. This king of the Puranic list flourished before Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi[117] whereas the representation of the elephant on the coins of this ruler resembles that on the coins of Puḷumāvi IV. Hence this ruler cannot be identified with the said king of the Purāṇas.

II

Sātakarṇi I

I. Elephant Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant with trunk upraised walking left[118].
(ii) Elephant with trunk upraised walking r.[119]
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk cut off[120].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika*[121].
(ii) Triangle-headed standard[122], sometimes in railing[123].
(iii) Fishes and *svastika* within double square line border[124].
(iv) Ujjain symbol[125], sometimes crescented[126].
(v) A river with fishes and tortoise[127].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* — Tree in railing and Ujjain symbol[128], sometimes crescented[129].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) *Nandipada*[130].
(ii) Rayed symbol[131].

II. Lion Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Lion springing l.[132]
(ii) Lion springing r.[133]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) *Nandipada*[134].
(ii) Fishes in double square line border[135].
(iii) *Svastika*[136].

Reverse : *Characteristic Features* — Tree within railing and Ujjain symbol surmounted by *nandipada*[137].

III. Bull Type

Obverse : Humped bull facing r.[138]

Reverse : Tree in railing[139].

IV. Homo Type

Obverse : (i) Man standing facing with a long staff in r. hand, l. hand hanging.
(ii) Defaced symbol in field[140].

Reverse : (i) Elephant walking r.
(ii) Indistinct symbol at top[141].

V. Ujjain Symbol Type

Obverse : Ujjain symbol[142].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant facing r.[143]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Tree[144].
(ii) River[145].
(iii) Crescent between hind and forelegs[146].

Sāti Śri

I. Elephant Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Elephant with hanging trunk facing down[147].
(ii) Elephant standing r[148].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Ujjain symbol, lower arm crescented[149].
(ii) Triangle-headed standard in railing[150].
(iii) River with fishes[151].

Reverse : Crescented Ujjain symbol[152].

II. Homo Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Man standing[153].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Ujjain symbol[154].
(ii) *Svastika*[155].

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant standing r[156].
(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Tree in railing.
(ii) Three-arched hill.
(iii) River with fishes.
(iv) Ujjain symbol[157].

III. Ujjain Symbol Type[158]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Homo sign.

Reverse : From l. to r.
(i) Three-arched hill.
(ii) Tree in railing.
(iii) River with fishes.
(iv) Three-arched hill.

IV. Bull Type[159]

Obverse : Bull facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. *Five Symbol Type*[160]

Obverse : (i) Triangle-headed standard in railing.
- (ii) *Svastika.*
- (iii) *Yya*-like symbol.
- (iv) } Two indistinct symbols.
- (v) }

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Bull to r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) *Svastika.*
- (ii) Ujjain symbol.

Sātakarṇi II

I. Elephant Type[161]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
- (ii) Elephant with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Four unconnected circles capped by crescent.
- (ii) *Svastika.*
- (iii) Taurine.
- (iv) Ujjain symbol.
- (v) Glass-shaped symbol.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
- (i) Solid five-leafed tree.
- (ii) Lion with raised and curled tail.
- (iii) Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Triangle-headed standard.
- (ii) Tree within railing.

II. Bull Type[162]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) Humped bull facing r.
- (ii) Animal facing l.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Triangle-headed standard.
- (ii) *Svastika.*
- (iii) *Yya symbol.*

(iv) *Nāga* symbol.
(v) Taurine.
(vi) Tree in railing.
(vii) Three-arched hill.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Tree in railing.
(ii) Ujjain symbol sometimes crescented with a pellet in each circle inside a square border.
(iii) Six-arched hill with a cross at top.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) *Yya*-like symbol.
(ii) Triangle–headed standard.
(iii) Taurines.
(iv) *Triratna*.
(v) Ujjain symbol.
(vi) *Svastika*.
(vii) *Nandipada*.
(viii) River with fishes.

III. Ujjain Symbol Type [163]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Crescented Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Homo sign.

Reverse : From l. to r.
(*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
(i) Three-arched hill.
(ii) River with fishes.
(iii) Tree in railing.
(iv) Three-arched hill.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — bull.

IV. Camel Type[164]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Camel facing r.
(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Crescent over head.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Hill of six arches.
(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Tree.
(ii) *Svastika*.
(iii) Glass-shaped symbol.

V. Tree Type[165]

Obverse : Thick-leafed tree in railing.

Reverse : (a) Lion facing r.
(b) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by crescent with a pellet.
(c) Ujjain symbol.
(d) Ujjain symbol surmounted by crescent.

Sātavāhana

I. Elephant Type[166]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
  (i) Elephant standing r. with upraised trunk.
  (ii) Elephant walking with upraised trunk.
  (iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
  (i) Two flattened circles on a vertical line.
  (ii) A symbol of four empty circles, one capped by crescent.
  (iii) Triangle-headed standard with a cross-bar.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
  (i) Ujjain symbol, generally surmounted by *nandipada*.
  (ii) Tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
  (i) Two circles on a vertical line.
  (ii) *Svastika*.

II. Bull Type[167]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
  (i) Bull facing.
  (ii) Bull walking.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Three-arched hill.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Solid-branched tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
  (i) Triangle-headed standard.
  (ii) An empty circle.
  (iii) River with fishes.
  (iv) *Triratna*.
  (v) *Nāga* or *nandipada* symbol.

Āpīlaka[168]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant walking r. with trunk hanging.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Goad.
(ii) Taurine.

Reverse : Blank.

Megha Svāti

I. Horse Type[169]

Obverse : Horse facing l.

II. Elephant Type[170]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika.*
(ii) *Yya-like* symbol.
(iii) One small indistinct mark.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) Between two orbs *ya* figure.
(ii) Between the lower orbs a symbol now indistinct.

Svāti

I. Caitya Type[171]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

II. Horse Type[172]

Obverse : Animal facing l.

Reverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

III. Elephant Type[173]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Elephant walking r. with uplifted trunk.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — A wavy line with a pellet in each curve.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb, surmounted by a crescent.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — *Svastika* between the orbs.

Candra Svāti[174]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches; beneath waved line.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with two surrounding circles.

Puḷumāvi I

I. Caitya Type[175]

Obverse : Three-arched hill with two horizontal lines below.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with solid balls encircled by an outer ring.

II. Bull Type[176]

Obverse : Humped bull facing l.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in the centre of each orb.

Śiva Svati

I. Three-arched Hill Type[177]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches.

Reverse : *Caitya* and traces of wavy line.

II. Ten-arched Hill Type[178]

Obverse : *Caitya* of ten arches with tree in railing to r.

Reverse : Worn out.

Kauśikiputra

I. Elephant Type[179]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) Elephant facing r. with trunk uplifted.
- (ii) Elephant walking r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Four connected circles cut by a vertical rod.
- (ii) *Svastika*.
- (iii) Four circles not connected by any rod.
- (iv) *Triratna*.
- (v) Triangle-headed standard.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :
- (i) Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet within a double circle.
- (ii) Tree in railing.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Four connected circles cut by a vertical bar in the upper r. and l. corners.

II. Svastika Type[180]

Obverse : *Svastika.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Sātakarṇi III

I. Elephant Type[181]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

(i) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
(ii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iii) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(iv) Elephant walking r., trunk cut off.
(v) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(vi) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.
(vii) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

(i) *Svastika.*
(ii) A group of four empty circles, the rightmost capped by a crescent.
(iii) *Yya*-like symbol.
(iv) Two connected circles.
(v) Ujjain symbol.
(vi) conch shell (?).
(vii) Goad.
(viii) *Triratna.*

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

(i) Tree.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with balls in circles, sometimes crescented.
(iii) Tree in railing.
(iv) Six close and radiating branches of a tree in a circle with thick dots at intervals.
(v) Palm tree.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Taurine.

II. Lion Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Animal facing r. with mouth open and coiled[182].

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Tree.

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches with a pellet in each arch in a square surmounted by a semi-circle of dots.

III. Horse Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) Animal facing r.[183]
- (ii) Animal facing l.[184]

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Absent.
- (ii) Crescent above.
- (iii) Objects behind and before.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Svastika Type

Obverse : *Svastika*[185].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. Three-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse :
- (i) *Caitya* with wavy line below[186].
- (ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[187].
- (iii) *Caitya* of three thick arches[188].

Reverse : Ujjain Symbol.

VI. Six-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Crescented *Caitya*.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) *Caitya alone*[189].
- (ii) *Svastika* on either side[190].
- (iii) *Svastika* to left and another symbol to r.[191]

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Ten-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
- (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[192].
- (ii) *Caitya* of thick arches surmounted by a crescent[193].

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Conch to left and lotus to right.

Reverse : Ujjain Symbol.

VIII. Restruck Silver Coins[194]

Obverse : (*a*)
- (i) *Caitya* of three Arches.
- (ii) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent.
- (iii) *Caitya* of three arches with *svastika* in the arches.
- (iv) *Caitya* of three arches with a pellet in each of the arches.
- (v) *Caitya* of three arches surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch.

(*b*) (vi) *Caitya* of six arches.
(vii) *Caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent.
(viii) *Caitya* of six arches with pellet between arches.
(ix) *Caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with a crescent on the upper orb.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.
(iv) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb and a crescent on the upper orb.
(v) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.
(vi) Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb and a crescent on the upper orb.

IX. Silver Caitya Type [195]

Obverse : Six-arched hill with dots in each arch on platform, below a wavy line.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi

I. Elephant Type[196]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Animal facing r. with trunk upraised.
(ii) Animal facing r. with trunk hanging.
(iii) Animal facing l. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Animal facing l. with trunk hanging.
(v) Animal facing r., trunk cut.
(vi) Animal facing l., trunk cut.
(vii) Animal running to l. with trunk hanging[197].

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
(i) Bow and arrow (rarely).
(ii) Glass-shaped symbol.
(iii) *Svastika*.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.
(iv) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a *svastika* between arms.
(v) Ujjain symbol with a *svastika* between arms surmounted by a crescent.
(vi) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa*.

II. Svastika Type[198]

Obverse : *Svastika*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

III. Lion Type[199]

Obverse : Animal facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Horse Type[200]

Obverse : Animal facing r. with *yya* symbol above and a spherical object below mouth.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature — Caitya* of six arches with a pellet in each arch.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Tree to left.

V. Ship Type[201]

Obverse : Ship with two masts.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VI. Three-Arched Caitya Type

Obverse : (i) *Caitya*[202].

(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[203].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Caitya of Ten Arches Type

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent[204].

(ii) *Caitya* of pellet-like arches surmounted by a crescent[205].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VIII. Bust Type

Obverse : King facing r. with crown[206].

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches with Ujjain symbol to r. surmounted by a crescent and sun symbol in between.

IX. Wheel Type[207]

Obverse : A wheel with twelve spokes in the centre.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Rudra Sātakarṇi

I. Three-Arched Caitya Type[208]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent, wavy line beneath.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

II. Elephant Type[209]

Obverse : Animal facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Sātakarṇi IV

I. *Elephant Type*[210]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

- (i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
- (ii) Elephant with upraised trunk facing r.
- (iii) Elephant with trunk upraised facing l.
- (iv) Elephant with trunk upraised walking l.
- (v) Elephant facing r., with trunk hanging.
- (vi) Elephant facing l., with trunk hanging.
- (vii) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
- (viii) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

- (i) Railing.
- (ii) *Svastika*.
- (iii) Glass-shaped symbol.

Reverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Features* :

- (i) Seven-branched tree in railing.
- (ii) Ujjain symbol.
- (iii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
- (iv) Ujjain symbol with a *svastika* between arms.
- (v) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with a *svastika* between arms.
- (vi) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa*.
- (vii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by *Pa* with a *svastika* between arms.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

- (i) Single orb of Ujjain symbol with a pellet.
- (ii) Six-arched hill and undulating lines.
- (iii) Homo sign.

II. Bull Type[211]

Obverse : Humped bull facing r.

Reverse : Tree.

III. Lion Type[212]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :

- (i) Animal facing r.
- (ii) Animal facing l.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :

- (i) Tree.
- (ii) *Svastika*.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol and tree in railing.
(iii) *Caitya* of six arches in a double line square surmounted by a line of dots and crescent.

IV. Three-Arched Caitya Type[213]

Obverse : Crescented three-arched hill.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

V. Caitya of Ten Arches Type[214]

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent.
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with lotus to l. and conch to r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VI. Bust Type[215]

Obverse : Bust of king facing r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent, *caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent and a circle between two crescents.

Śaka Svāti

I. Lion Type[216]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* — Lion standing to r.

(*b*) *Associated Symbols* :
- (i) Tree in railing.
- (ii) Square pedestal having a vertical line with cross-bars.

Reverse : *Caitya* of six arches, crescent or part of a circle with dots.

II. Elephant Type[217]

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised, standing to r.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi

I. Elephant Type[218]

Obverse : (i) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(ii) Elephant facing l. with trunk upraised.
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.

(v) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.
(vi) Elephant running l. with trunk hanging.
(vii) Elephant running l., trunk cut off.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol.
(ii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.
(iii) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with *svastika* between arms.

II. Three-Arched Caitya Type[219]

Obverse : *Caitya* of three arches with a wavy line below.

Revesre : Ujjain symbol.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi

I. Elephant Type[220]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Elephant with upraised trunk walking r.
(ii) Elephant facing l. with trunk hanging.
(iii) Elephant facing r. with trunk upraised.
(iv) Elephant facing r. with trunk hanging.
(v) Elephant facing r., trunk cut off.
(vi) Elephant facing l., trunk cut off.

(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Glass-shaped symbol before the animal.

Reverse : (i) Tree.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.
(iii) Ujjain symbol with *svastika* between arms.

II. Caitya of Three Arches Type[221]

Obverse : *Caitya.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

III. Caitya of Six Arches Type[222]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IV. Caitya of Ten Arches Type[223]

Obverse : *Caitya* surmounted by a crscent with conch to left and lotus to right.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.

V. Solid Caitya Type[224]

Obverse : (i) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with lotus and conch on either side.
(ii) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with a pellet in each arch and *svastika* to l. and *triratna to* r.

(iii) *Caitya* with *svastika* to l. and conch to r.
(iv) *Caitya* with symbol to r.
(v) *Caitya* with *svastika* to l.
(vi) *Caitya* surmounted by a crescent with a wavy line below.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent.
(ii) Ujjain symbol.

VI. Horse Type[225]

Obverse : (*a*) *Characteristic Feature* :
(i) Animal facing r.
(ii) Animal facing l.
(*b*) *Associated Symbol* — Crescent above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VII. Lion Type[226]

Obverse : Animal facing l.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

VIII. Ship Type[227]

Obverse : Ship with double mast and wrigging with fish to right and conch to left below.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

IX. Bust Type[228]

Obverse : King facing r. with jewel on forehead.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain symbol surmounted by a crescent with *caitya* of six arches surmounted by a crescent to left and sun symbol between crescents.
(ii) *Caitya* with Ujjain symbol to r. and sun and moon over it[229].

Caṇḍa Svāti

Obverse : (i) Horse standing r.[230]
(ii) Horse standing with altar before.

Reverse : (i) Ujjain Symbol, each orb of which is represented by a pellet with two surrounding circles.
(ii) The orbs of Ujjain symbol are represented by plain circles.

Kumbha Sātakarṇi

Obverse : Elephant standing to r. with trunk upraised[231].

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Karṇa Sātakarṇi

Obverse : As above[232].

Reverse : As above.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi[233]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Puḷumāyi IV[234]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Khada Sātakarṇi[235]

Obverse : As above.

Reverse : As above.

Stuta[236]

Obverse : As above; legend : *Raño Siri Thutasa*; Sanskrit rendering : *Rājnaḥ Śrī-Stutasya.*

Reverse : As above.

R E F E R E N C E S

1. Most of the points could not be discussed in detail because of the paucity of space, but I propose to take them elsewhere.

2. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3.

3. [None of these coins bears full name of the issuing chief. On No. 5 Rapson finds only two concluding letters (*–ṇisa*) and on No. 6 only the last letter (*–sa*), while on No. 7 the legend is altogether illegible — *Ed.*]

4. *Ibid*, pp. XCV–VI.

5. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 253–254.

6. For a detailed discussion, see *JNSI*, XXXII, pp. 58 ff.

7. *BMC, AWK*, p. 4.

8. *Ibid*, p. XCVI.

9. *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 304.

10. *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (*NNM*), No. 6, p. 6.

11. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 54–55.

12. *Ibid*, XVI (i), pp. 90–91.

13. *Ibid*, XII (i), pp. 28–29, Nos. 5, 9, 10 and 11.

14. *Ibid*, XIII (i), pp. 33–34, Pl. II.12; XVI, pp. 92–93.

15. *Ibid*, IV, pp. 27–8, Pl.II.8.

16. *Ibid*, XIII (i), p. 33, Pl.II.11.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid*, XII (i), p. 28, No. 4.

19. *BMC, AWK*, p. 1, No. 2; *JNSI*, XVI (i), pp. 95–96, Pl.V.3; IV, p. 28, Pl. II.9.

20. *JNSI*, XII (ii), pp. 94 ff., Pl.X.II; *BMC, AWK*, p. 1, No. 1.

21. *JNSI*, XIII (i), p. 35, Pl.II.13; XVI (i), p. 70, Pl.II.22 and fn. 2.

22. *Ibid*, *II*, p. 26, Pl.II.6.

23. Rama Rao, *Catalogue of the Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, 1961 (hereinafter cited as Rama Rao, 1961), pp. 32–33, No. 14.

24. *BMC, AWK*, p. XCII.

25. *Ibid.*, p. XCIII.

26. *JNSI*, XIII (i), pp. 36–39.

27. *Ibid.*, XVI (i), p. 70.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89.

29. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 3.

30. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 32.

31. *NNM*, 6, p. 6.

32. Pargiter, F. E., *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kaḷi Age*, p. 39.

33. Sankalia *et al*, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, 1960, pp. 176 ff.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 170, Nos. 1–3, p. 177, Nos. 1–2.
35. *BMC, AWK*, Pl. I, Nos. 5, 6, 8, 11.
36. *Ibid.*, Pl. IV.
37. *JNSI*, VIII (i), p. 8.
38. *Ibid.*, XIII (ii), p. 131, Pl. VI. 1.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 210, No. 3, Pl.IX.10.
40. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 32–33, Nos. 15, 16, 18–21, 23, 25.
41. Sankalia *et al.* 1960, p. 179.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *JNSI*, XIII (ii), p. 211, Pl.XI.13.
44. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 30–31, Nos. 2–4.
45. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 36–39, Pl. II. 14.
46. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 32–33, No. 22.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–33, Nos. 9–12.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 32–33, No. 13.
49. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1–4.
50. *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141–42.
51. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 138 ff.
52. *JNSI*, VII, p. 2.
53. *JNSI*, XI, p. 2.
54. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 2.
55. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 38.
56. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 198, fn. 4.
57. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 144.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
59. Sankalia *et al*, 1960, p. 176.
60. *Comprehensive History of India*, II, p. 304.
61. *NS*, 1937–8, p. 94; *JAHRS*, X, pp. 225–6.
62. *JNSI*, XXVII (i), pp. 91–94, Pl. II.7.
63. *Ibid.*, XIII (ii), p. 138, Pl.VI.15.
64. Rama Rao, 1961, Nos. 93, 99.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.
66. *BMC, AWK*, pp. 30–31.
67. *NNM*, 6, p. 22.
68. *JNSI*, XIII (ii), pp. 132–3, Pl.VI. 3–4.
69. *NNM*, 6, p. 7.
70. *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 147 ff.
71. *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 175–6.
72. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 38–39, Nos. 94–95.
73. *JNSI*, VIII (ii), pp. 106 ff.; XIII (ii), pp. 133–4, Nos. 5–8, Pl. VI.5–8.
74. *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 132.
75. *Ibid.*, XVIII (i), p. 8.
76. *Ibid.*, XII (i), pp. 27–28.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
78. *Ibid.*, XIII (ii), pp. 210–11, No. 4, Pl. XI.11.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 210, fn. 3.
80. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 183.
81. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 211.
82. *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 3–4, Pl. I, 6.
83. *Ibid.*, XV, pp. 183–4.
84. *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 3.
85. *Ibid.* VIII (ii), pp. 111 ff.; IX (ii), pp. 95–96.
86. *Ibid.*, IX (ii), pp. 93–94; X, p. 22.
87. *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1970), pp. 113--119.
88. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 258, No. 4.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 258–9.
90. *Ibid.*, XXVIII (i), p. 56.
91. *NNM*, No. 6, p. 12.
92. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 259.
93. *NNM*, No. 6, p. 23.
94. [These statements appear to be contradictory, as the coin of Rudra Sātakarṇi in question described by Rama Rao actually bears crescented three-arched hill — *Ed.*]
95. Sankalia *et al*, 1960, pp. 181–2.
96. *JNSI*, IV, p. 25, Pl. II-4.
97. *NNM*, No. 6, p. 4, No. 16.
98. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 26–27, Pl. II, Nos. 5, 7.
99. *NNM*, 6, p. 2, No. 6.
100. *JNSI*, II, p. 86.
101. *Ibid.*, XXI (i), pp. 18–19.
102. *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 116.
103. *NNM*, No. 6, p. 110, No. 48.
104. Sankalia *et al*, 1960, No. 1880.
105. *Ibid.*, No. 3007.
106. *NNM*, 6, p. 8, Nos. 37–38.
107. *BMC, AWK*, pp. 10 ff.; IA, XX, pp. 61–65.
108. *NNM*, 6, p. 17.
109. *JNSI*, II, p. 92.
110. *Ibid.*, No. 29.
111. *JDHC*, II (2), pp. 83–84, Nos. 26, 28, 29; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 43, No. 2, Pl. V. 2–4, 6–8.
112. *BMC, AWK*, p. 32.
113. *NNM*, 6, p. 24.
114. *Ibid.*
115. *JNSI*, XVII (ii), pp. 99–100.
116. *Ibid.*, XVIII (i), p. 109.
117. *Ibid.*, II, p. 89.
118. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3, Coin Nos. 5 and 6.
119. *Ibid.*, Coin No. 7.
120. Sankalia and Deo, *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*, 1952, p. 32, No. 860.
121. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3, Coin Nos. 5 and 6.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 110.
124. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3, Coin Nos. 5 and 6.
125. Sankalia and Deo, 1952, p. 32, No. 860.
126. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 110.
127. *Ibid.*
128. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3, Coin No. 7;Sankalia *et al*, No. 860.
129. *BMC, AWK*, p. 3, Coin Nos. 5 and 6.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid.*, No. 8.
133. *Ibid.*, Nos. 9–12; *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 54–55; XVI (i), pp. 90-91 (Nasik coin); XII (i), p. 289, Nos. 5, 9, 10, 11; XIII (i), pp. 33-34, Pl. II.12; XVI pp. 92-93; IV, pp. 27-8, Pl. II.8.
134. *Ibid.*, *No.* 8.
135. *Ibid.*

136. *Ibid.*, Nos. 9-12; XIV, pp. 54-55; XII (i), pp. 28-9, Nos. 5, 9, 10, 11; XIII (i), pp. 33-34; XVI, pp. 92-93; IV, pp. 27-8, Pl.II.8.

137. *Ibid.*, No. 8-12; XIV, pp. 54-55; XVI (i), pp. 90-91; XII (i), pp. 28-29, Nos. 5, 9, 10, 11; XIII (i), pp. 33-34; XVI, pp. 92-93; IV, pp. 27-8, Pl.II.8.

138. *Ibid.*, XIII (ii), pp. 131-32. 139. *Ibid.* 140. *Ibid.*, XIII (i), p. 33, Pl.II.11.

141. *Ibid.* 142. *Ibid.*, XII (i), p. 28, No. 4; Rama Rao, 1961, No. 17.

143. *Ibid.* 144. *Ibid.*, XII (i), p. 28, No. 4. 145. *Ibid.*

146. Rama Rao, 1961, No. 17. 147. *JNSI*, XII (ii), pp. 94 ff., Pl. X.11.

148. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 1, No. 1. 149. *JNSI*, XII (ii), pp. 94 ff. 150. *Ibid.*

151. *Ibid.*, *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 1, No. 1. 152. *JNSI*, XII (ii), pp. 94 ff.

153. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 1, No. 2; *JNSI*, XVI (i), pp. 95–96, Pl. V.3; IV, p. 28, Pl. II.9.

154. *Ibid.* 155. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 28, Pl. II.9.

156. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 1, No. 2; *JNSI*, XVI (i), pp. 95–96, Pl. V.3.

157. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 28, Pl.II.9.

158. *Ibid.*, XII (i), p. 35, Pl.II.13; XVI (i), p. 70, Pl. II.22.

159. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 32–33, No. 14.

160. *JNSI*, II, p. 26, Pl.II.6.

161. Sankalia *et al*, pp. 180–1; *JNSI*, XIII (ii), p. 211, Pl. XI.13; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 30–31, Nos. 2–4.

162. *JNSI*, VIII (i), p. 8; XIII (ii), p. 131, Pl. VII; XIII (ii), p. 218, No. 3, Pl.IX. 10; Rama Rao, 1961, Nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 and 25; Sankalia *et al*, pp. 177–8.

163. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 36; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 32-33, No. 22. 164. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, No. 13.

165. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31, Nos. 9–12.

166. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1–4; XI, pp. 5–6; *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141–42; Sankalia *et al*, 1960, p. 171 ff.; *JNSI* XXII, pp. 139–40.

167. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 138–9. 168. *NS*, 1937–8, p. 94; *JAHRS*, X, pp. 225–6.

169. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 28. 170. *JNSI*, XXVII (i), pp. 91–94, Pl. II.7.

171. Rama Rao, 1961, No. 93. 172. *Ibid.*, No. 99.

173. *JNSI*, XIII (ii), p. 138, Pl.VI.15. 174. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 30-31.

175. *JNSI*, XIII (ii), pp. 132–3, Pl.VI.3; XXII, p. 148. 176. *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 175–6.

177. Rama Rao, 1961, No. 95. 178. *Ibid.*, No. 94.

179. *JNSI*, VIII (ii), pp. 116 ff.; XIII (ii), pp. 133 ff., Nos. 5, 6, 7.

180. *Ibid.*, No. 8.

181. *JNSI*, XII (i), pp. 27–28; Sankalia, *et al*; 1960, p. 185; *JNSI*, XIII (ii), pp. 210–11, No. 4; *XIV*, p. 3, Pl. I.6; *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 17–19; *ABORI*, XXII, Pl.XV.16, 18; *JDHC*, II (2), p. 86, No. 44; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 32–39; *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 146–7, Pl. VIII.9.

182. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 84, No. 35.

183. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India* (*CSI*), Pl. II, 44; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 257, Pl.XI.7.

184. Elliot, *Coins of Western India* (*ECWC*), *IA*, VI, pp. 274–275, No. 12; *CSI*, Pl.I.24, 25.

185. Rama Rao, 1961, Nos. 96, 97.

186. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 81, No. 2. 187. *Ibid.*, II (2), No. 3. 188. *Ibid.*, II (2), No. 5.

189. *Ibid.*, II (2), p. 82, No. 11; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 43, Nos. 2, 5, Pl. V.3, 6.

190. *JDHC*, II (2), No. 13. 191. *Ibid.*, II (2), No. 14.

192. *Ibid.*, II (2), p. 84, No. 31; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 44, No. 9, Pl.V.12.

193. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 82, No. 18.

194. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 68 ff; *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223–43; JNSI, XVII (ii), pp. 98–99.

195. *JNSI*, VIII (ii), p. 111, Pl.VII.5.

196. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 86, No. 50, p. 88, No. 70; *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 21, Pl. V.91; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 40 ff.; *JNSI*, II, p. 87, Pl. VIII, No. 8; XVIII (II), p. 219, Nos. 1 and 2.

197. Rama Rao, 1961, No. 111. 198. Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 50–51.

199. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 84, No. 36; *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 24. 200. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 88, No. 76.

201. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 22, Pl.V.95. [But *contra* Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, III, pp. 17-19, where it is shown that ship type coins actually belong to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi–Ed.]

202. *ECWI*, 7; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 44, Nos. 11, 12, Pl.V, Nos. 13 and 14. 203. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 81, No. 8.

204. *Ibid.*, II (2), p. 83, No. 22; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 44, Nos. 13, 14, 15, Pl.V, 9, 10, 16.

205. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 83, No. 21.

206. *JNSI*, XI (i), pp. 1–3, Pl. I.1–2.

207. *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 178–179.

208. *NS*, 1934, p. 61, No. 3; *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 46, Pl. VII.GP.5.

209. *CSI*, Pl. I.29; Rama Rao, 1961, Nos. 314–17; *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 46–7.

210. Sankalia, 1960, pp. 181–2; *JNSI*, IV, p. 25, Nos. 2-4, 5, 7; II, pp. 86–8; XXII, pp. 18–19, XV (i), 75, Pl.1.20; *IM*
p. 211; No. 12; *JDHC*, II (2), pp. 86–87, Nos. 47–50; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 50 ff; *JNSI*, XVIII (ii), p. 219, Nos. 3–16.

211. Sankalia *et al*, 1960, No. 1880.

212. *Ibid.*; *JDHC*, II (2), p. 85, Nos. 37, 38; *JNSI*, XV (i), pp. 74–75, Pl. I.19; XXII, p. 257, No. 2.

213. *Ibid.*, XIII (ii), p. 133, No. 4, Pl.VI.4; XXII (i), pp. 68–69, Pl. I.5; XXVIII (i), pp. 54–57.

214. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 83, Nos. 19–20.

215. *JNSI*, XI (i), p. 59, Pl. II.4–5; XXI (i), pp. 9–12; XXVII (i), pp. 32 ff; XXX, pp. 74 ff.

216. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 10 ff.; XX, pp. 61–65.

217. *JNSI*, II, p. 92.

218. *NS*, 1934, pp. 61–62; *JNSI*, II, p. 88; Rama Rao, 1961, pp. 54 ff.

219. *BMC*, *AWK*, Nos. 88–89, G. P. I.; *NS*, 1934, p. 61.

220. *CSI*, p. 33, No. 8; *CAI*, Pl. XII.11; *JDHC*, II (2), p. 87, No. 64; *JNSI*, II, pp. 89–90; *IMC*, p. 212; Rama Ra
1961, pp. 55 ff.; *JNSI*, VIII (ii), p. 219, No. 17; Sankalia *et al*; 1960, p. 186.

221. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 35.

222. *JDHC*, *II* (2), p. 82, No. 15; *CAI*, Pl. XII. 12.

223. *JDHC*, II, p. 83, No. 23.

224. *Ibid.*, II (2), p. 82, Nos. 16, 83; Nos. 26, 84; Nos. 28, 29 and 30; *JNSI*, XVIII (i), p. 43, No. 2, Pl.V.2, 3, 4, 6,
and 8.

225. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 38–39.

226. *JDHC*, II (2), p. 85, No. 40.

227. *Ibid.*, p. 89, No. 82.

228. *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 45, Pl. VII.EI; *JNSI*, XII, p. 126; *CAI*, Pl.XII.8.

229. *CAI*, Pl. XII.8.

230. *BMC*, *AWK*, pp. 32–33.

231. *JNSI*, II, p. 90.

232. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

233. *Ibid.*, II, p. 90.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 92; XVII (ii), pp. 99–100; XVIII (i), p. 109.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 89; *BMC*, *AWK*, p. 46, No. 179; *IMC*, I, p. 213.

236. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 334, Pl. III. 13 and 13 A.

* * *

I : 2

NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COINS AND CONSIDERATION OF SOME PROBLEMS

By

K. D. BAJPAI

Recently six Sātavāhana coins of unusual significance have been identified by me. Of these, Nos. 1 to 5 are of copper and No. 6 is a silver coin.

Coins No. 1 and 2 have recently been acquired by me at Vidiśā. They are said to have been discovered in the bed of the river Betwā, near the old mounds of Besnagar (Vidiśā). Coins No. 3 and 4 are from Ujjain. Number 5 is from Kauśāmbī and is now in the possession of Sri R. C. TANDAN of Allahabad. The last coin is of silver and is in the collection of Sri KUNJ BIHARI LAL of Meerut. He has informed me that the coin was purchased by him at Meerut.

I am thankful to Sri R. C. TANDAN and Shri K. B. LAL for kindly permitting me to study their coins and to publish them. The coins are described below.

Coin No. 1 : (Pl. I. 1)

Copper; Square; 1.85 cm.; 72.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : The centre has three symbols :

(i) three-arched hill,
(ii) *vajra* (the so-called Ujjain symbol),
(iii) tree-in-railing.

Below is shown river with fish, etc. At top is the Brāhmī legend (*ra*)*ño siri Sātakaṇi*(*sa*).

Reverse : Blank.

It is remarkable that the technique used in the preparation of this coin is the punching device found in the punch-marked Eran-Vidiśā coins of the Kārṣāpaṇa type. The provenance of the coin is significant in this case.

RAMA RAO in his *Catalogue of the Sātavāhana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad*, has described 24 coins (No. 2-25)[1] as the issues of Sātakarṇi I. These coins are, however, different from the coin described above.

I find a close similarity between the Brāhmī characters on the present coin and those of the Sanchi inscription of king Sātakarṇi and of the Nāneghāṭ inscriptions. The present coin can be attributed to Sātakarṇi I of the Sātavāhana dynasty (No. 3 of the Purāṇic list). On palaeographic grounds the issuer of this coin can be assigned to the middle of the 2nd century B.C., if not a little earlier. He cannot be placed in the latter half of the 1st century B. C. or in the beginning of the 1st century A. D., the dates suggested for Sātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription by CUNNINGHAM, MARSHALL and some other scholars. I think that BUHLER was right in suggesting a date in the 2nd century B. C. for king Sātakarṇi of the Sanchi inscription[2]. The type of the coin also is archaic, similar to the type of the punch-marked Kārṣāpaṇas of Eran-Vidiśā.

The discovery of this new coin from Vidiśā may lend support to the theory that eastern Malwa was occupied by the Sātavāhanas in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. This Sātakarṇi I, known from the Sanchi and Nāneghāṭ inscriptions and from coins, may rightly be taken to be the contemporary of Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The recent excavations conducted under my direction at Tripurī (near Jabalpur) have indicated that the hegemony of the Sātavāhanas was spread upto the Tripurī region during the 2nd--1st centuries B. C.

Coin No. 2 : (Pl. I. 2)

Copper cast; Circular; 2.20 cm.; 100 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : In the centre, a female figure stands on a circular floral platform. She stands erect facing with the hands held down straight. To her right is the *vajra* (Ujjain symbol) having a crescent on top. The Brāhmī legend starting at 10 O'clock reads *raña(o)sa(si)ri Sātasa.*

Reverse : Elephant walking to right between two arched hills, behind the tail of the animal is a long arch. Over the elephant is a flowering tree within railing.

A few Sātavāhana coins resembling this type have previously been published[3]. On two of them, a standing deity appearing to be a male figure is seen. On none of the Sātavāhana coins, published so far, do we notice a distinct female deity. On the coin from Nasik, published by M. G. DIKSHIT[4], the male figure is seen holding a staff in the right hand.

Another coin of this type, published by M. C. CHAUBE[5], was acquired from Bherāghāṭ near Jabalpur. The standing figure on that coin is apparently a crude male standing on a circular platform. The hands of the figure on the Bherāghāṭ coin are held straight. On the new coin from Vidiśā the figure is clearly that of a female, as is evident from her breasts and slender waist. Her arms fall down straight, but the palms are held horizontally. This figure can be identified with that of Lakṣmī.

But for the figure, there is a good deal of similarity between the present coin and the coin of CHAUBE. The details on CHAUBE'S coin are blurred and the symbols and the legend are not complete, whereas on the present coin the symbols and the legend are very clear. The legend, written in bold Brāhmī characters, occupies the major portion of the obverse.

Another coin bearing the name of King Sāta was published by S. L. KATARE[6]. It was obtained from Jamunia, a village in the Hoshangabad district of Madhya Pradesh. The shape of the coin is square. KATARE has read the legend on the coin as (*Ra*) *ño siri Sātasa.*

Recently the excavations at Tripurī have yielded two more coins with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* with the male figure.

Palaeographically all the coins referred to above with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* can be assigned to a later period than that of king Sātakarṇi I (Coin No. 1 described above).

It is not possible for me to agree with the suggestion that these coins of king Sāta were issued by king Sātavāhana, whose coins are known from Hyderabad, Kondāpur and Nevāsā[7]. Nor can they be assigned to Sātakarṇi I or to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. On the grounds of typology and palaeography the coins of these three rulers are different from the coins bearing the legend *Raña siri Sātasa* (or *Sātisa*).

The problem of the attribution of these later coins has not so far been solved. Various suggestions in this regard have been put forth[8]. In my opinion these coins may be assigned either to Śaktiśrī or to the Sātavāhana ruler mentioned as No. 6 in the Purāṇic lists, who is credited with the reign of a fairly long period.

Coin No. 3 : (Pl.I.3)

Copper; Rectangular; 2.30 × 1.85 cm.; 113.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : In centre, standing elephant to left with trunk raised. Border legend at top *raña* (*Si*)*ri Sātasa*. Below *cakra* and a wavy line.

Reverse : *Vajra*, *nandipada* and other symbols. The coin is slightly worn out.

This coin can be assigned to the issuer of Coin No. 2.

It may be mentioned here that the number of square coins with the legend *raño siri Sātasa* (*or Sātisa*) is much smaller as compared to the circular coins of this ruler. The square coins may have been issued earlier than the circular ones.

The recent excavations at Tripurī have brought to light two interesting coins of this ruler. The stratified evidence shows that the coins can be assigned to the 1st century B. C.

Coin No. 4 : (Pl.I.4)

Copper; Circular; 1.85 cm.; 69.50 grains (Author's Collection).

Obverse : Elephant with trunk raised walking to right. Over its back is Ujjain symbol. Legend in front of the animal is *Sātakani*. There is a *vajra* symbol of a peculiar variety.

Reverse : Inside a semi-circle, decorated with *vajra* symbols, is *kalpavṛkṣa* shown in a criss-cross manner.

The interesting device on the reverse is noteworthy. The double three-pronged symbol represents *vajra* and not *śrīvatsa*, as has generally been supposed.

In the absence of any clear indication it is not possible to assign this coin with certainty to any particular Sātavāhana ruler.

Coin No. 5 : (Pl.I.5)

Copper; Oval-shaped; 2.35 × 1.40 cm.; 188.05 grains (Sri R. C. TANDAN's Collection).

Obverse : Wide-mouthed lion standing to left before *Indradhvaja* with raised long tail. Below the mouth is a small *svastika* symbol. At top is the Brāhmī legend *raño siri Sāta*. . . .

Reverse : Ujjain symbol occupying almost the entire space. Inside the four circles are miniature *svastika* symbols. In between the two circles is a taurine symbol.

This is a very interesting coin cut out of a twin cast. Occurrence of the lion figure on Sātavāhana coins is rather rare. In the present case the animal is depicted in a life-like manner.

The legend on the obverse does not appear to be complete. It seems that the last three letters *kanisa* are missing. The complete legend thus was *raño siri Sātakanisa*.

On the basis of its type and the early Brāhmī characters, this coin can be assinged to *Sātakarṇi* I.

Coin No. 6 : (Pl.I.6)

Silver; Round; 1.4 cm.; 24.50 grains.

Obverse : Head of the king facing right; a floral ornamentation over the forehead. Brāhmī legend beginning at 12 O'clock reads : *raño Gotamiputasa siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : In the centre is *vajra* (Ujjain) symbol surmounted by taurines (four crescents around a circle). To the right of the *vajra* is a five-arched hill surmounted by a crescent and with a wavy line under it. The incomplete Brāhmī legend starting about 7 O'clock reads *Yaña Hātakaṇi ku*(*?*)..

The coin was evidently issued by Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

The protrait silver coins of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, so far published, are quite few[9], although their number is much more than the known silver coins of the other three Sātavāhana rulers. The present coin is a welcome addition to the small number of their silver coins. It is well-preserved and the symbols and the Brāhmī legend on it are quite clear.

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1. Hyderabad (1961), pp. 31–3.
2. *EI*, II, pp. 88–89. *See* also Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 271 ff. (Inscription No. 190); *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 197–8.
3. See Rama Rao, List of Published Sātavāhana Coins, *JNSI*, XX, pp. 2–6; Rapson, *BMC*, *AWK* (1908), p. 1 and plate; *JNSI*, XII, pp. 94–7; Pl. X, 11; XIII, p. 33, Pl. II, 11; XV, pp. 95–6, Pl. V, 3; XVI, p. 70, Pl. II, 22 and pp. 95–6 (Pl.V, 3).
4. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 33.
5. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 95–6, Pl. V.3.
6. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 94–7, Pl. X, 11.
7. See *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 1–4, Pl. II. 1; VIII, p. 19, fn. 3 and pp. 22–3; XXII, pp. 138–45, Pl. VIII; Rama Rao, *op. cit.*, p.1.
8. For the views of Rapson, Mirashi, Altekar, Rama Rao, Dikshit, Katare and P. L. Gupta, see *BMC*, *AWK*, Intro., p. XCIII; *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35–39; XVI, pp. 77–96.
9. For a detailed discussion on these coins see Ramayya, *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 32–35.

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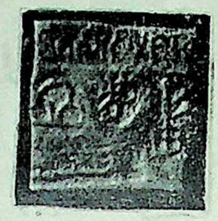

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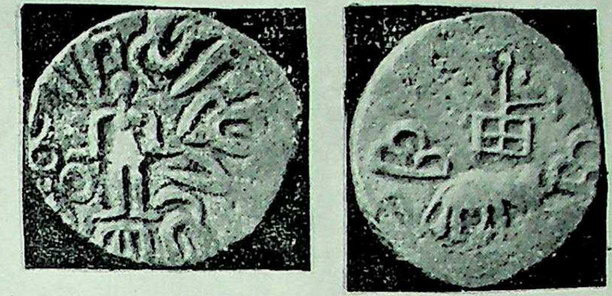

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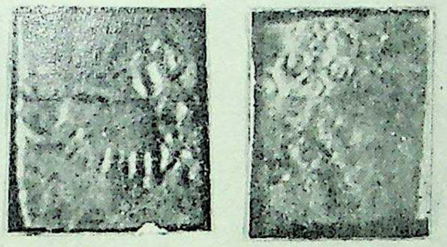

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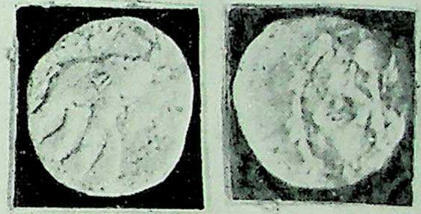

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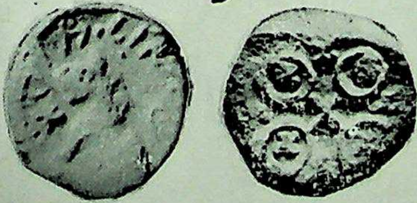

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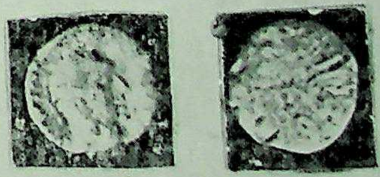

Pl. I : New Sātavāhana Coins.

I : 3

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

by

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

The Sātavāhana rulers became predominant in trans-Vindhyan India after the fall of the Mauryan monarchy. The members of this family, who styled themselves as the 'Lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha', ruled probably from the first half of the first century B. C. down to the first quarter of the third century A. D. The capital of the Sātavāhana empire was Pratiṣṭhāna which has been identified with Paithan on the banks of the Godāvarī in the Aurangabad District, Maharashtra.

The origin of the Sātavāhanas is still shrouded in obscurity. Their original home, family and chronology are moot problems for historians. In the reconstruction of Sātavāhana history, along with the inscriptional and literary sources the coinage of the family has a lion's share.

Scholars like ELLIOT[1], THOMAS[2], BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI[3] and SCOTT[4] studied coins of the Sātavāhanas. But the Sātavāhana coinage was systematically studied by the late E. J. RAPSON in his unique work[5]. In the last two decades scholars like ALTEKAR and MIRASHI have sumptuously contributed valuable articles on the Sātavāhana coinage mostly in the pages of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.

After the publication of RAPSON'S *Catalogue* considerable evidence has come to light. In last sixty-two years various excavations have unearthed new coin-types and patient explorations have added coins with new symbols. Hence, an attempt has been made to study the social and religious aspects of the Sātavāhana history as revealed by their coinage. Of course, the scope is, however, limited for the simple reason that it is restricted only to the numismatic evidence. RAPSON[6] did not make any distinction in types and symbols of coins because of their common origin and use. Symbols and types are both meaningful because of their immediate appeal and greater realism and thus coins with their types, symbols and legends throw light on socio-religious ideas. They signify the influence of vedic rituals, religious practices, tree and animal worship and popularity of certain cults and sectarian deities.

Coins are not primarily concerned with society and its organization; nevertheless they cannot avoid reflections of social order and life. Sometimes the royal names on the coins record ancient *gotras*. They indicate pattern of society and position of women. Language is a social system and thus coin legends throw considerable light on the articulation of society. Execution of symbols and the minting art suggest contemporary technical achievement. Portrait coins give us an idea about ancient head-dresses, ornaments and hair styles, etc. The evidence of ear-ornaments, beads and pendants comes from the portrait coins.

The Sātavāhana coins are purely native in character with the exception of a few portrait coins. So far as the symbols are concerned, most of them occur on the punch-marked coins and they have been interpreted by DURGAPRASAD[7], KOSAMBI[8] and many other scholars.

The study of types and symbols of the Sātavāhana coins shows that their scope is very wide. RAPSON[9] has already pointed out that some symbols seem to be the common property of diverse sects. Certain symbols should be regarded as national symbols as they are unanimously accepted by three main theologies, *viz.*, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. Their adoption indicates liberal religious attitude of the Sātavāhana kings. The Sātavāhana sovereigns accepted such common symbols on their lead, potin and copper coins which thus linked up the cultural life of the country.

Symbols and types with their significance may be discussed as follows. Sometimes significance of individual symbols can be ascertained, but it is difficult to interpret different combinations and groups of symbols.

Celestial Gods

Sun

The sun, as it stands for light and life, is universally sacred to man. In the Ṛgvedic polytheism, it occupied a high position. It was an important aspect of Brahmanism. Its importance in the Sātavāhana period is reflected in the Naneghat inscription as it begins with salutation to Sūrya[10].

Its spherical representation occurs on the coins of Sātakarṇi II[11] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[12] while the rayed Sun occurs on the portrait coins of Yajña[13]. The solar symbols are also found on the coins of the Mālavas[14].

Moon

The moon is another universal deity. It is a common symbol on the Sātavāhana coins. It occurs in association with the *caitya* symbol and on the orbs of the Ujjain symbol. Its association with the *caitya*, which is otherwise known as the hill symbol, may be justified as it rises from behind the mountains. If the Ujjain symbol denotes four directions and signifies the idea of circumambulation of the Sun, then the combination of the moon with the Ujjain symbol is quite feasible. Along with the Sun, adoration to the moon has also been recorded in the Naneghat inscription[15].

Animal Worship

Representations of bull, horse and elephant frequently occur on the coins of the Sātavāhanas. Bull, the vehicle of Śiva, is guardian of the east.

Bull is represented on the coins of king Sātavāhana[16] and Mahārathi coins[17]. It occurs on the coins of the Mālavas, the Rājanyas and the Nāgas[18].

The symbolism of Nandin has been rightly interpreted by the late Dr. AGRAWALA[19]. Nandin represents the fecundating energy of Kāma. Śiva, the lord of Yoga, conquered the god of love and thus naturally became the lord or rider of the bull. Anthropomorphic representation of Śiva with his bull is found on the coins of Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers like Maues and Gondophernes and those of the Kuṣāṇa kings like Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva.

Bull is greatly honoured in India. It occurs on the Harappan seals[20].

Bull motif is carved on the pillars at Karla[21], Nasik and Pitalkhora, and it also appears in the Amaravati reliefs[22].

In Jainism it is the symbol of the 1st Arhat Ṛṣabhanātha.

Elephant

Elephant is an emblem of royalty. It is supposed to be the guardian of the south. It seems to be a popular device of the Sātavāhana coinage. It is shown facing left and right, trunk upraised or hanging with a jewelled neck. Elephant also appears on the Mālava coins[23].

The Indus seals supply the earliest known representations of elephant in India. The majesticity of elephant has been delineated in a dignified manner on the pillar capitals at Karla, Bedsa and also in the sculptures at Barhut, Bhaja, Sanchi and Amaravati. A white elephant appears in the dream of Māyā and it also appears in hundreds of Jātakas.

Horse

Horse, like bull and elephant, does not seem to be so popular. It occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra[24] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī[25]. Horse-type was current during the reign of Yajña Śrī[26]. It has been depicted on a platform on a coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[27]. Two horses are found on a legendless Sātavāhana coin[28].

Horse is the guardian of the west and also a symbol of sovereignty. It is greatly honoured in the sacrificial institution. It appears on the pillar-capitals at Bedsa and Karla. In Buddhist sculptures it is usually depicted in the departure scene of Siddhārtha.

Lion

Lion again is a symbol of sovereignty. It is supposed to be the guardian of the north. It appears on the coins of Sātakarṇi II[29], Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[30], Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvī[31], Sātakarṇi IV[32], Śaka Sātakarṇi[33] and Yajña Śrī[34].

In Buddhist sculptures at Barhut, Sanchi, Karla, Bedsa and Amaravati it appears on pillar capitals and in different scenes.

Nāga Cult

Nāga symbol appears on the coins of Sātakarṇi III[35].

In Mythology, sectarian cults and even in sculptures at Barhut, Sanchi, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati the Nāga cult occupies a prominent place. Buddhism, Jainism and even sectarian cults had to admit serpent, although in a subordinate capacity in their religious systems.

Ahi, the serpent, is the form taken by the demon Vṛtra, the enemy of Indra. Of course, there it stands for the evil spirit. In sectarian cults Śeṣa serves as the bed of Viṣṇu and it adorns the neck of Śiva.

The Nāga cult in Buddhism is also noteworthy. Nāga Erāpatra, Mucalinda and Campeya had great reverence for the Master. In sculptures at Amaravati[36] the Nāgas are represented as protecting the *stūpa*. At Nāgarjunakonda[37] Buddha is represented as seated on a Nāga.

Nāga is the symbol of the 23rd Arhat.

The great Sātavāhana queen Nāganikā with her epithet Nāgavaradāyinī was named after Nāga.

Tree Worship

Rapson[38] has already pointed out that tree in railing is found only on the Āndhra coinage of western or southern India. It is the chief feature of the reverse type of Mahāraṭhi coins. Tree device occurs on the coins of Sātakarṇi I[39], Sātakarṇi II[40], Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[41] and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[42]. The tree in railing is found not only on the punch-marked coins but also on the coins of the Kuṇindas, Audumbaras, Yaudheyas and the Mālavas[43].

Tree-cult was very common in India. Plant-forms are portrayed on Harappan seals[44].

Lord Buddha attained enlightenment under a *Pipal* tree at Uruvela. Each Buddha had his own tree. In the *Bhagavadgītā*[45] Lord Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with the *Pipal* tree :

अश्वत्थ्: सर्ववृक्षाणां देवर्षीणां च नारद:

Sectarian Gods

Śiva

In the list of gods and Lokapālas in the Naneghat inscription Śiva is not mentioned. But the names of the Sātavāhana rulers after Śiva and Rudra, of course, suggest Śiva-worship.

Kṛṣṇa

The name of the great Sātavāhana ruler Kṛṣṇa indicates the existence of Kṛṣṇa-worship. In the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[46] the Kṛṣṇa-legend occurs where Kṛṣṇa is called Madhumathana and Dāmodara. Two heroes of Pañcharātra system, *viz.*, Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa, are mentioned in the Naneghat inscription.

Skanda and Lakṣmi

Skanda and Lakṣmī type coins suggest the existence of Skanda and Lakṣmī worship[47].

Auspicious Symbols

Svastika

Svastika is an auspicious symbol. Even at present no Hindu ceremony is performed without depicting this symbol.

It appears on the coins of Sātavāhana[48] and Sātakarṇi I[49]. It is found on the coins o Kauśikīputra[50]. It occurs on the coins of the Aśvakas, Kulūtas and the Kuṇindas[51].

It is a solar symbol and the arms of the *svastika* suggest the movement of the sun. It is related with the spiritual and artistic life of man and is an auspicious symbol in all faiths. It constitutes the symbol of Supārśva, the 7th Jina.

The *svastika* is found on Harappan seals[52] and it decorated vessels of Chalcolithic period from Inamgaon (Maharashtra) and occurs on pottery from Shah Tump.

Pāṇini informs us that the owners of cattle in his time were in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears in order to make them recognized and *svastika* was one of those marks[53].

Svastika occurs in the Jaugaḍa[54] inscription of Aśoka and in the inscriptions in western Indian caves[55] and in the inscriptions of Khāravela[56] and Nahapāna[57].

Caitya[58]

The *caitya*, which is otherwise known as the hill symbol, is a common feature of the coinage of the Sātavāhanas. *Caitya* with three, six and ten arches and a solid type occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[59]. It is found on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Śivaśrī[60] and Śrīyajña.

It appears on punch-marked and tribal coins. On the Kulūta coins the *caitya* symbol is composed of ten semi-circles surmounted by an elaborate *nandipada*[61].

Kosambi[62] took crescent on arches as a sort of monogram used by Candragupta Maurya. It was further interpreted that the arches would signify descents.

Nandipada

PANDIT BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI first mentioned it as *nandipada*. It was so named as it is represented on a rock in the Padan hill along with the name *nandipaam*[63]. It appears on the coins of Viḷivāyakura[64] and Sātakarṇi[65]. It also occurs on the punch-marked coins and on the coins of the Kulūtas, Kuṇindas[66] and Yaudheyas.

RAPSON has already pointed out that the symbol is associated with the figures of Śiva and his bull on the coins of Kadphises II. It is not exclusively a Brahmanical symbol as it appears in a more elaborate form in Buddhist[67] and Jain sculptures[68]. SEWELL made an ingenious attempt to connect it with Egyptian scarab[69]. It appears in Western Indian caves[70].

Lotus

Lotus appears as a decorative motif in sculptures. It is an attribute of Viṣṇu and is the abode of Lakṣmī. It serves as a seat of Buddha and Prajñāpāramitā. Buddha is shown seated on a lotus at Karla, Kanheri and Ajanta. It is a symbol of the 6th Arhat.

Lotus occurs on the coins of Gautamīputra[71].

Conch-shell

It is another attribute in the hands of Viṣṇu. It occurs on the coins of the Yaudheyas, Kuṇindas and Mālavas. It appears on the coins of Gautamīputra[72] and Yajña Sātakarṇi[73].

River with Fish

Rivers are always invoked as deities. This symbol occurs on the coins of king Sātavāhana[74] and Śri Sātakarṇi[75]. The *vrata* of water is mentioned in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[76].

Astronomical Symbols

Ujjain Symbol

The Ujjain symbol was so named by CUNNINGHAM because of its frequent occurrence on coins found at Ujjain. RAPSON[77] has already remarked that the designation is, however, not sufficiently distinctive since the symbol appears in many other districts of India. The symbol consists of a cross having each of its arms terminated by a ball. The four balls may represent four directions. Gautamīputra might have selected this symbol to signify his sovereignty[78]. Its occurrence on the Ujjain coins may indicate the central position of Ujjayinī. Ujjain is situated on the astronomical line named *madhyamarekhā* which goes through Vatsagulma and Kāñcī. At Ujjain the Cancer line and *madhyamarekhā* intersect each other.

Taurine Symbol

It is so called because it is identical in form with the zodiacal sign of Taurus. BUHLER has pointed out that it is a curious coincidence that the cuneiform sign for taurus should prove so similar in its general outline to its rounded form met with in India[79]. It is found on silver sigloi of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persia of the 6th and 7th[80] centuries B. C. and occurs on the coins from Taxila and on the coins of the Aśvaka[81].

Cakra

Symbolism of *cakra* has been interpreted by the late V. S. AGRAWALA[82]. *Cakra* is the perfect symbol of the cosmos and of human life. A frequent description of *Kālacakra* or time-wheel gives an elastic account of the number of spokes as three, five, six and twelve :

द्वादशारं न हि तज्जराय वर्वर्ति चक्रं परिद्यामृतस्य ।

R. V. I. 164.11.

AGRAWALA has said that Buddhists have borrowed this description of the *Kālacakra* or *Brahmacakra* almost verbatim for the *Dharma-cakra*.

A wheel with twelve spokes occurs on a coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi[83]. NARAIN, who has described the coin, has interpreted that there are twelve *nidānas* of the Buddhist doctrine of *Pāṭiccasamuppāda*, cycle of birth and death, as long as man is in the bondage of ignorance. The writer has further concluded that Puḷumāvi might have embraced Buddhism or at least suggests his leanings towards Buddhism.

Triratna

Triratna symbol is basically a Buddhist symbol which stands for Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. It occurs on the lead coins of Sātakarṇi[84], Mahāraṭhi coins of Andhra Pradesh[85] and on the coins of Kauśikīputra[86].

The Sātavāhana period is a period of an upheaval of new religious ideas. In this period there is an assimilation of Vedic pantheon, sectarian cults and non-Aryan elements. The names of the sectarian gods suggest that the monotheistic movement accepted the path of devotion and that the sectarian gods were superimposed over the sacrificial rituals mentioned in the Nanaghat inscription.

Nowhere Indra occurs in the Sātavāhana coinage, though this Vedic hero-god is adored in the Nanaghat inscription.

The Lokapālas, *viz.*, Vāsava, Varuṇa, Kubera and Yama, are mentioned in the Nanaghat inscription[87]. They are absent in the Sātavāhana coinage. The four quadrupeds-lion, elephant, bull and horse — owe their selection primarily to the fact that they were regarded as the guardians of the four quarters.

It is noteworthy that most of the Sātavāhana symbols are the common property of diverse sects. The sun, the moon, tree, hill and river are the symbols of universal appeal. The meaning of such symbols can be understood by people at all places and times. Selection of such symbols indicates the religious eclecticism of the Sātavāhana rulers.

The symbols such as tree-in-railing, *triratna* and *cakra* with twelve spokes[88] may suggest the Sātavāhana leanings towards Buddhism, but the *gotra* names and the names of sectarian gods definitely indicate the main stream of Brahmanism.

Social Aspects

Social Status :

RAPSON has already pointed out that the use of metronymics is characteristic of the Sātavāhana coinage[89]. The Āndhra metronymics are peculiar as they are all derived from the names of Vedic *gotras*. BUHLER[90] explained these as distinctively priestly titles and mentioned that the religious surnames were borne by Āndhra queens in addition to their personal names to honour the royal *purohitas*. But in the Nasik inscription Gautamīputra calls himself *ekabrāhmaṇa*[91].

It may further be stated that the Vedic *gotras*, *viz.*, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha and Kauśika occurring in the names of Sātavāhana rulers signify their high social status. AGRAWALA[92] has pointed out the practical value of *gotra* names. 'The *gotra* name in ancient time was of great importance to determine the true position of an individual in the democratic social assemblies.' He further interpreted the political character of the *gotras* and mentioned that the descendants of Sāvitrī and Satyavān multiplied as so many families, whose clan developed into the Sāvitrī-putra *Saṅgha* of the Punjab. This spirit to follow the *Saṅgha* model was prevalent in the Punjab in Pāṇini's time. So far we have no evidence of such *Saṅghas* in South. If their feasibility is admitted then it may be interpreted that the Sātavāhana rulers had matrimonial alliances with Gautama and Vasiṣṭha clans. The great Sātavāhana queen was named as Gautamī Balaśrī. It indicates her *gotra* and probably her clan. The names Śivaśrī and Yajñaśrī, glory of Śiva and glory of *Yajña* respectively help to determine the highest social status of the Sātavāhana sovereigns. The suffix *śrī* would be a worthy honorific for a learned Brahmin when it is coupled with '*yajña*'. The solitary instance of Meghasvāti reminds us of the popularity of *nakṣatra* names. Karṇa Sātakarṇi was named after the epic hero Karṇa and Kumbha is the symbol of the 19th Arhat.

Position of Women :

High status of women in the Sātavāhana society has been clearly indicated by the metronymics Gautamī, Vāsiṣṭhī, Kauśikī and Māḍharī. The name of Nāganikā, who performed sacrifices and made donations to Brahmins and acted as a regent during the minority of her son, does not occur on the Sātavāhana coins. Metronymics are altogether absent on the Sātavāhana coins from Vidarbha. Diligent application of metronymics indicates the influence of matriarchal society.

Śaka Relations :

The name Śaka Sātakarṇi[93] suggests close relationship with the Śaka family. The matrimonial alliances with Kṣatrapa family have been explained by the Kanheri inscription[94]. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, co-uterine younger brother and successor of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, was th husband of a daughter of the great Kṣatrapa Rudra. Another Kṣatrapa influence is suggested by the title *sama* which stands for *syāmi*. This title was borne by the Kṣatrapa rulers and was borrowed by Yajña Sātakarṇi on his ship type[95].

Education :

The Sātavāhana coinage, though crude and rather monotonous, provides copious evidenc of the then language. The Sātavāhana rulers used Prakrit language in their coin-legends The use of *ṣa* for the sixth case ending *sya*, interchange of *sa* and *ha* in the name Sāta = Hāla—Vāhiṭhi for Vāsiṣṭhī suggest conscious awareness for the uplift of Prakrit SIRCAR has pointed out[96] that the word *tiru* is written as *hiru* in the reverse legen of Yajña Sātakarṇi's coin. *Tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *Śrī* and Prakrit *siri*. Th words *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively an indicate regional stamps.

It is obvious that the Sātavāhana rulers supported local technicians and encouraged loca craftsmen. Though the coinage is rather crude, it indicates a substantial degree of specializatio in technical knowledge.

The Sātavāhana coins showing a single and double mast[97] ship testify that a certain clas was engaged in maritime trade and commerce on the eastern coast.

Hair Style and Ornaments :

The evidence entirely comes from the portrait coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[98] an Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[99]. The peculiarities of the Bust type of the Sātavāhana coinage have bee interpreted by SOHONI[100]. The Dravidian features as reflected in the portrait coins of Vāsiṣṭh putra Sātakarṇi help us to determine the ethnic origin of the Sātavāhanas. On these coins the ki is shown with frizzled hair tied by a diadem with a crest-jewel above the centre of the forehea and ear-rings with long pendants are reaching the shoulders. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* uses *Śekha* and *kaustubha*[101] for crest jewel. SOHONI has further interpreted that Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī bust shows the *kākapakṣa* style and the hair-style of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi may be compar with the style mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as प्रलंबकुटिलपल्लवघटितललाटजूटक[102]. It is the style of foot soldier as described by Bāṇa. A comparison may be made with the foot soldiers' hair sty shown in the Ajanta paintings.

Material concerning social aspects as reflected in the coinage is comparatively very meagre, but still the portrait coins definitely add some new evidence.

Lastly, it may be said that the Sātavāhana coinage provides some salient features of social and religious life. The significance of individual symbols may be interpreted, but at present it is rather difficult to interpret the mystic meaning of their combinations; otherwise the language of symbols tells much more than the words.

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I : 4

THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS : TYPES AND THEIR REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

By

PARAMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

This paper is meant only to bring together all the numismatic material relating to the Sātavāhanas, also called the 'Āndhras', that has been receiving attention from the very beginning of the Indian numismatic studies. No serious attempt was ever made to study these coins in their proper context. Some sixty years back RAPSON had published his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc. in the British Museum* and had tried to put together what was known then; but it was no more than an inventory. His observations, in the introduction of the *Catalogue*, were quite all right at the time they were made; but now what he had said has almost become obsolete and needs a fresh assessment. Here I propose to bring together the coin-types and indicate the probable area of their circulation and at the same time to place my own comments in brief, as and when necessary.

I. Vidiśā – Inscribed Punch-Marked Coins :

Some copper coins, square in shape and having five punches, have come to light from Madhya Pradesh. Four of the punches bear the symbols :—

(i) Triangle-headed standard within a railing;
(ii) Ujjain symbol with a crescent over one of the orbs;
(iii) Elephant;
and (iv) River shown by two parallel lines with a row of fishes.

The fifth punch on these coins bears a legend in place of the symbol. The legend in this fifth punch is either *Raño Siri Sātasa* or *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*. Such coins were seen by me in the collection of INDRA KUMAR SINGH of Jamunia, Hoshangabad district, who had picked them from ancient ruins near his village. A coin from his collection was published by KATARE (S. L.); it has the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa*[1]. Another coin with the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* was published by CHAUBE (M. C.), who had picked it from the ruins of Tripurī[2]. Recently BAJPAI (K. D.) has published a third coin bearing the latter legend, which he obtained at Vidiśā and is said to have been found in the bed of the river Betwa, near the old mounds of Besnagar[3]. BAJPAI on his coin has identified the symbols a little differently.

The punch-marked nature of their coins was not identified by KATARE and CHAUBE; but BAJPAI rightly realised that his coin was akin to the Eraṇ-Vidiśā punch-marked coins of the Kārṣāpaṇa type. In fact, these coins are in the continued tradition of the square copper punch-marked coins, which are profusely found in Eraṇ-Vidiśā region and are described by ALLAN in his *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*[1]. These coins are not only extra-ordinary in their fabric but also most important of all the Sātavāhana coins.

The Eraṇ-Vidiśā square copper punch-marked coins have so far not been attributed to any ruler or dynasty; but if they are viewed along with the tradition that the Śuṅgas did not stay long in Magadha after they exterminated the Mauryas and soon shifted to Vidiśā, they may well be attributed to the Śuṅga and Kāṇva rulers; and then in turn, it may be said that the Sātavāhanas issued these coins in the Vidiśā region when they ousted the Śuṅga-Kāṇvas. Thus these coins provide for the first time a firm evidence to corroborate the statements of the *Purāṇas*. The coins of Simuka, whom the *Purāṇas* attribute the destruction of the Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas, might be the anonymous copper punch-marked coins of Eraṇ-Vidiśā.

II. Tripurī – Standing Man (Homo) Type :

Copper and lead coins bearing a standing figure of man and Ujjain symbol with crescent and the legend on one side with two different motifs on the other may be placed in this group. One of the reverses bears four symbols :—

(i) Three-arched hill;
(ii) Tree-in-railing;
(iii) River with fishes, placed vertically;
and (iv) Three-arched hill.

The second reverse bears an elephant in the centre and the four symbols of the first type are placed around it.

The coins of the first type are known exclusively from Tripurī. Two of them were published by KATARE (S. L.); one of them was of lead and had the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* and the other was of copper and had the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*[5]. DIKSHIT (M. G.) had discovered three coins of lead bearing the first legend in the archaeological excavations at Tripurī[6]. The coins of the second type are known exclusively in copper and have the legends *Raño Siri Sātisa*. Only three coins of the type are known. One belonged to the collection of BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI; its provenance is not known[7]. The second coin was published by CHAUBE (M. C.) which he had found at Tripurī[8]. A third coin has recently been obtained by BAJPAI (K. D.) from Vidiśā[9]. Since most of the coins come from Tripuri, I think they were the coins of that region.

III. North Maharashtra – Bull Type :

The Archaeological excavations at Nevasa (35 miles north-east of Ahmadnagar) in North Maharashtra have brought to light a type of coins which bear a bull to right with an auxiliary symbol (which differs with the difference in the legend) and the legend on the obverse, and the reverse, which is not clear on most of the coins, has a tree in railing with or without some symbols on its right and left. The coins are known in lead and copper both; the lead coins are round and the copper ones are square.

The lead coins bear two legends :

(i) *Raṇo Siri Sātavāhanasa* with three-arched hill above the bull[10];

(ii) *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* with a triangle-headed standard before the bull[11].

The copper coins are also known as having two legends :

(i) (*Sā*)*tavāhanasa* without any auxiliary symbol on the obverse[12];

(ii) *Raño Kochi*(*putasa*) *Sātakaṇisa* without any auxiliary symbols on the obverse[13].

The coins are distinct not only in their metal and shape but also in other respects. While the lead coins have a symbol on the obverse, the same is missing on the copper ones. Then the coins in lead bear the title *Raño* for *Sātavāhana* which is missing on the copper ones. Similarly, the lead coin bears the name simply as *Siri Sātakaṇi*; the copper coins omit *Siri* and add the matronymic *Kochiputa*. As such, it is unlikely that the lead and copper coins belong to one and the same Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi.

IV. North Maharashtra – Elephant Type (*Group A*) :

Largest number of the Sātavāhana coins are known as having an elephant on the obverse. They may be classified into two distinct groups, A and B, according to their reverse devices. The coins of Group A have tree as the prominent reverse symbol; the coins of Group B invariably have the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The coins of the two groups belong to two distinct regions.

The coins of Group A, which may be attributed to North Maharashtra and adjoining region, have the elephant on the obverse with some auxiliary symbol and the legend; its reverse has tree in railing with some auxiliary symbols. The reverse of these coins appears to associate them with the coins of Type III. I have distinguished this type in 12 varieties; but in most cases, the coins bear only traces of the legend which cannot be fully deciphered. They may be described as follows :—

1. Copper; rectangular.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; *svastika* and Ujjain symbol surmounted by *triratna* (*nandipada*) placed side by side. Legend at the top (*si*)*ri Sāta*.

Reverse : Triangle-headed standard in railing in centre; to left *nandipada* above and Ujjain symbol below; to right *śrīvatsa* above and *svastika* below.

A coin of this variety was published by ALTEKAR (A. S.) from B. M. VYAS collection, of which the provenance is not known[14]. The reverse of this type may well be compared with the reverse of Type III. The close similarity places the coin very close to them and most likely they belonged to one and the same region.

2. Round; lead and copper.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk to right; triangle-headed standard in front; above four circles and a crescent. Legend—

(i) *Raño Sātavāhanasa*;

(ii) *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

V. Deccan–Elephant Type (Group B) :

The coins with elephant on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse (Group B of Elephant type) are generally found in Deccan and are almost unknown in the northern part of the country. They may be distinguished into 10 varieties as follows :—

1. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; in front a symbol made of two flattened circles crossed by a vertical line; above triangle-headed standard vertically placed. Legend above *Raño Siri Sātavāha*(*nasa*).

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; *śrīvatsa*-like symbol on either side of the upper orb and *svastika* on either side of the lower orb. Above the top orb a big *nandipada* is horizontally placed.

Two coins of this type are known so far; one was published by Mirashi (V. V.)[27] and the other by Dikshit (M. G.) and Jogalekar[28]. Both these coins were obtained in the market at Hyderabad. They appear to have circulated in Hyderabad region.

2. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to right; above an arched hill with crescent, *svastika* and *śrīvatsa* placed in a row; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; *śrīvatsa*-like symbol on either side of the upper orb; symbol on either side of the lower orb is not clear.

A coin of this type is published by Ramayya (S.), which he had obtained in Hyderabad market[29]. The coin is well connected with variety 1 by its reverse and may be placed with it. He who issued it was undoubtedly different from Siri Sātavāhana of variety 1; but his name is not clear on the coin. Ramayya has tried to identify the legend on both the sides, a feature which is exclusively known in the silver coins. A careful examination of the illustration does not reveal any trace of any letter on the reverse. He has identified *Ha ta me ka sa* on the obverse and suggests that this legend stands for Hatamegha, i. e. Śatamegha and takes him to be Meghasvāti of the Purāṇas. While it is difficult to agree with his identification, it can be said that the coin reveals a new name.

3. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk to right; two flattened circles crossed with a vertical line above. Legend above *Kosakapū*(*tasa*) *sa*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles; on either side of the upper orb a symbol similar to that seen on the obverse above the elephant; perhaps similar symbol on either side of the lower orb.

A coin of this variety is published by Mirashi (V. V.) from Kaus Collection[30]. He has suggested the restoration of the legend as *Raño Kosikiputasa Sātakaṇisa*. But that *sa* after the matronymic stands only for Sātakarṇi cannot be said with any amount of certainty. It may stand for *Siri* or *Sātavāhana* also. The coin is placed very close to coins of Type 1 by the auxiliary symbol on the obverse. So, it can only be said that the issuer of the coin might be the successor of the issuer of Type 1.

4. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right; trunk-position indeterminable; above *triratna* (*nandipada*), triangle-headed standard and *svastika*. The legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double orbs. Auxiliary symbols not visible. They may or may not exist.

This coin from KAUS collection was published by MIRASHI (V. V.). The legend is fragmentary[31]. MIRASHI has read only *Raño*; but *siri* may also be made out on the coin. MIRASHI has attributed this coin to Kauśikīputra. He thinks that the legend would have been *Raño Siri Kosikiputasa*. But he missed to realise that on the Sātavāhana coins *siri* always follows the matronymic and goes with the name and never precedes the matronymics. The coin belongs to some ruler other than those who issued the coins of the above three varieties.

5. Oval; lead.

Obverse : Elephant standing to right, trunk hanging down. Legend above (*Raño*) *Siri Sādavāha*(*nasa*)

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double orbs and a crescent over one of the orbs. A pellet between each of the two orbs.

A coin of this type was found in the Kondapur excavations and is published by MIRASHI (V. V.)[32]. This coin differs from the coins of king Sātavāhana of the variety 1 described above in not having auxiliary symbol on the obverse; and the auxiliary symbols on the reverse are replaced by pellets. Here a crescent is seen over one of the orbs, which is unknown on the other variety. These most likely suggest that the coin belongs to another ruler named Sādavāhana.

6. Round; copper[33].

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk upraised; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of a single circle; crescent above one of the orbs.

The coins have been found in quite a large number and in several hoards, *viz*., Chanda Hoard[34], Tarhala hoard[35], Brahmapuri hoard No. 1[36], Kondapur excavations[37] and Bidar hoard[38]. They bear the legends as follows :—

1. *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa*
2. *Raña Siri Puḷumāvisa*
3. *Raña Sātakaṇisa*
4. *Raña Siva Siri Sātakaṇisa*
5. *Raña Siri Khada Sātakaṇisa*
6. *Raña Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*
7. *Raña Siri Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*
8. *Raña Siri Kubha Sātakaṇisa*
9. *Raña Siri Saka Sātakaṇisa*

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10. *Raña Siri Pulahamāvisa*
11. (*Raña*) *Kana Sātakaṇi*
12. (*Raño*) *Siri Ruda Sātakaṇisa*
13. (*Raño*) *Siri Sātasa.*

Besides these legends, Mirashi (V. V.) has read a legend *Raño thutasa* on a coin in Kaus Collection[39]. He read this name with some difficulty. The reading to me is doubtful; but if it is there, it brings a new name. Dinkar Rao has suggested the existence of a coin of this type with the legend (*Raño*) *Cakora Sātakaṇi*(*sa*)[40]; but a careful examination shows that the legend on the coin is simply *Raño Sātakaṇisa.*

7. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to left with trunk upraised; legend *Raño Siri Kana Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Same as on variety 6.

The coins of this variety are exclusively known from the Tarhala hoard and bear only one legend[41].

8. Square; copper.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol as on variety 6.

This type is different from variety 6 not only in shape but also in having the elephant with trunk hanging down. Two coins of this variety from Karvan (Gujarat) were published by Gadre, who doubtfully read the legend as *Gotamīputa*[42]. But the illustrations of the coins are not good and nothing can be said about the reading of the legend; but if the reading is correct, it shows that it had a big legend with matronymic. This is thus a type quite different from variety 6.

9. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant to right with trunk hanging down. Legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

The coins of the type, known so far, bear the following legends :—

1. *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.* Rama Rao (M.) has published a coin with this legend from Chebrolu in Guntur district[43].
2. (*Raño Gotamiputasa*) *Siri Yaña Sātaka*(*ṇisa*). A coin with this legend is published by Elliot[44] and the same is catalogued by Rapson[45]. It hails from the Krishna district.

These coins suggest that they are the issues of the eastern part of Andhradeśa. It appears that Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Yaña Sātakarṇi were contemporary and one succeeded the other. But the Purāṇas do not mention any Sātakarṇi preceding or succeeding Yajña Sātakarṇi.

10. Round; lead.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised to right; legend above.

Reverse : Same as variety 9.

The coins of this variety are known bearing the following legends :—

1. *Siri Ruda* (*Sātakaṇisa*). Three coins are described in the *British Museum Catalogue* from Pearse Collection[16].
2. *Siri Caḍa* (*Sātisa*). Among the large number of coins of this type, described by RAPSON in his *Catalogue* as the unknown coins, a few show the word *siri* and a few others read *Caḍa*[17] and thereby indicate that some coins had *Siri Caḍa Sāti* as the part of their legend. *Śrī Caḍa Sātakarṇi's* coins of Horse type are well-known.

The coins hail from Krishna-Godavari districts and suggest that like the coins of variety 9 they were issued in the eastern part of Andhradeśa.

11. Round; copper.

Obverse : Elephant with trunk hanging down to right; above a symbol, which is not distinct but is identified as a triangle with an angular pan above; a goad or dagger in front. Legend above : *Raño Siva Siri Sāpilakasa.*

Reverse : Blank.

Only one coin of this variety is known so far. It was found in the sands of the Mahanadi at Balpur in the Bilaspur district (M. P.) and was published by DIKSHIT (K. N.)[48]. The coin very much resembles the coins of variety 7, but differs in having the trunk hanging down. The object above the elephant is not known elsewhere on the Sātavāhana coins; but the object before the elephant is the same as is seen on the Elephant type coins of Group A, variety 11. This latter peculiarity places the coin very close to it; but there is nothing to help in dating the coin.

The legend on the coin is perfect and is read by DIKSHIT as *Siva Sirisāpilakasa*. So, the coin is generally attributed to Āpilaka, who is 6th in the list of the Andhra Kings in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. But DIKSHIT had rightly pointed out that the issue of the coin cannot be ascribed to any early Sātavāhana ruler on numismatic ground. He placed the coin with the eastern issues of the later rulers like Śrī Rudra or Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and assigned a date at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A. D. While attributing the coin to Āpilaka, scholars ignored what DIKSHIT had said and at the same time they also overlooked the fact that the name on the coin can be suggested only if *sa* is taken as genitive for the epithet *siri*; but nowhere in the Sātavāhana numismatics *siri* is used in genitive. So the name on the coin is Sāpilaka and not Āpilaka.

VI. *Gujarat - Lion Type* (*Group A*) :

A few coins are known as having lion as the prominent symbol on the obverse. They may be classified into three distinct Groups — A, B and C on the basis of the auxiliary symbols on the obverse and the devices on the reverse. The coins of Group A are chiefly known from Gujarat and the adjoining territories of north Maharashtra. They may be described as follows :—

1. Square; copper.

Obverse : Within a square border of dots, a lion to right with tail curved and upraised; a bold *svastika*; legend.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted with *nandipada* and tree-in-railing, placed side by side, within a square border of dots.

The coins are known as having the legends as follows :—

(*i*) *Raño Sātakaṇisa* (letters reversed and blundered). RAPSON has described a few coins of this variety which originally belonged to BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI Collection[49]. GADRE has published coins from Kamrej and Karvan (both in Gujarat)[50].

DIKSHIT (M. G.) has also published a coin from Nasik[51].

(*ii*) *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa.* A coin, published by ALTEKAR from VYAS Collection[52], is similar to the above coins; but here the legend is different and it is neither reversed nor blundered. Perhaps, the issuer of this coin was not the same as that of the earlier variety.

2. Square; lead.

Obverse : Same as variety 1; legend *Raña Siri sa......*

Reverse : Same as variety 1; but the place of the two symbols is interchanged.

A coin of this type was discovered in the excavations at Nevasa[53] and another at Nasik[54]. The Nevasa coin has the legend portion *Raña Siri* very clear on the left side of the obverse. It is followed by a partly seen letter, which has been identified in the Reports as *sa*. The legend on the Nasik coin is completely blurred. SANKALIA (H. D.) had read *puta* on the top right corner. TRIVEDI (H. V.) and I had examined[55] the coin and in our enthusiasm, we had tried to see too much in it and had tried to restore the legend as *Gotamiputa* and had also imaginingly seen a few other letters on the bottom of the left side. We thus had conjecturally restored the legend as *Gotamiputasa Raña Sātakaṇisa*. But now after careful examination of the illustration of this coin along with the Nevasa coin, I am convinced that the legend begins from the lower end of the left side and ends near the *svastika*. As such the coin does not have a long legend. What we had taken as *puta* was *Sāta*; after that there is not much space to cover three letters, *kaṇisa*. So, most likely, these coins have the legend *Raño Siri Sātasa.* But this is a tentative suggestion.

3. Square; copper.

Obverse : Lion to left with curved tail upraised. *Nandipada* above; all placed within a double line square border with fishes.

Reverse : Within a double line square border, tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol surmounted by a *nandipada* placed side by side.

RAPSON has mentioned a coin of this variety from BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI Collection[56]. In execution, fabric and symbology, the coin closely resembles the coins of varieties 1 and 2 and differs only in the facing of the lion and the replacing of *svastika* by *nandipada*. The reverse resembles that of variety 2. As such this was issued in continuation of the above two varieties; but it must have been issued by some other king than those who issued the above two varieties. The name of the issuer is off the flan; only *nasa* can be seen on the top corner and it may be presumed that it formed part of *Sātakaṇisa*.

VII. Eastern Deccan – Lion Type (Group B) :

The following coins found in the region of Krishna and Godavari districts and the adjoining territories come under this group.

1. Square and Round; lead.

Obverse : Lion standing right, tree-in-railing in front; legend above.

Reverse : Six-arched hill within a double-line square enclosure; above the top of the enclosure, a broad crescent made of a line surrounded by dots.

Rapson has published a number of coins of this variety, round as well as square[57]. He has read *Raña* on one coin, *Sakasa(da)sa* on the second and *Sakasa(--)sa* on the third and has restored the name as Saka Sāta or Sakasena and identified him in the latter form with Māḍharīputra Svāmī Śakasena of the Kanheri Inscription[58]. Rama Rao (M.) has published two similar coins, one from Dharanikota (Guntur District)[59] and another from Amaravati[60]. On the former he reads the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa* and on the latter only *puta* with restoration of *mi* before and *sa* after it. But in all probability the legend on all these coins is *Raño Siri Sātasa.*

VIII. Eastern Deccan – Lion Type (Group C) :

The following coins found in the districts of Krishna and Godavari may be described under this group :—

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Lion standing to right; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. Crescent over any orb is not visible.

The following legends are attributed to this variety :—

(i) *Sāmisa Siri Puḷumāvisa.* Rapson has published two coins from Pearse Collection[61]. On both the legend is incomplete.

(ii) *Sāmisa (si) ri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.* Some coins in the Madras Museum have been described by Rama Rao (M.) as having this legend[62]. On one of them he reads *Sātakaṇisa*; on the other *Sāmisa* and *r(i) yaña* on the third. Taking all the fragments, he has completed the legend.

2. Square; tiny; lead.

Obverse : Lion to left with tail upraised; legend above.

Reverse : Uncertain.

Rapson has published a coin of this variety from Pearse Collection. Only four letters of the legend are seen on the coin, which have been read as *(gha)sadasa*[63]. Rapson places the coin in the first or second century B. C. and identifies the issuer with Meghasvāti, the ninth ruler according to the *Matsya Purāṇa.* But the coin seems to have come from Eastern Deccan, which does not seem to have been under the early Sātavāhana rulers; and the type itself suggests that the coin belongs to some later ruler.

IX. Deccan – Arched Hill Type (Group A) :

Arched hill is another symbol which, like elephant, is seen on many coins. They are found in three distinct forms — three-arched, six-arched and ten-arched and, as such, they form three Groups-A, B and C.

The coins of Group A having three-arched hill may be identified in the following varieties:—

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with two horizontal lines below, one thick and another thin. The arches are thick-lined and separated. Legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs; *nandipada* on all the four sides between each set of two orbs, but a little away.

MIRASHI (V. V.) had published a coin of this variety from KAUS Collection. On it only two letters, *tisa*, appeared below the horizontal lines. MIRASHI restored it as *Sātisa*[64]. He also took the *nandipada* that appeared on the reverse as letters and read it as *Sala*. Later, I noticed that the legend on this coin is to be read from outside, that it begins from about IV and goes round the hill and that three letters, *Raña sa*, also appear on it. The legend was then conjecturally restored by me as *Raña sā*(*liputasa*) *Siri Sātisa*[65]. Another coin was then published by DINKAR RAO, where the *nandipada* on the reverse was quite clear on the top and its traces on the left and right were also visible[66]. This showed that there were no letters on the reverse. On the obverse, the letters *ḷumavi* were quite clear. It showed that what was taken to be *ti* on Kaus' coin was *vi*. Both the coins belong to one ruler and bear the same legend which may be restored as *Raña Siri Puḷumāvisa*. A third coin of this variety is in Madras Museum on which *visa* is quite clear[67].

2. Round; lead.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with a crescent at the top: the basic line below is extended a little on either side; and a line below it. Legend *Raña Siri Sātakaṇisa*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a crescent over an orb. Nāga symbol between each set of two orbs.

A well-preserved specimen of the coin of this variety is published by SIDDIQUI (A. H.)[68]. Earlier a coin was published by MIRASHI (V. V.) with the legend truncated[69]. Another coin was published by DINKAR RAO; but there he read the legend partly outwardly and partly inwardly and thus tried to read on it *Vijaya Sātakaṇisa*[70]. A similar coin is also known from Nevasa excavations; but on it the legend is blurred[71].

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Three-arched hill; below a wavy line; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

The coins of this variety bear the following legends :—

(1) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa*. Four coins are published by RAPSON. Two of them are from Gudivada[72]. Madras Museum also has some similar coins[73].

(2) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siva Siri Puḷumāyisa.* RAPSON has mentioned three coins in his *Catalogue*; but they do not show the last word. RAPSON has, without giving any reason, conjecturally restored it as *Sātakaṇisa*[74]. But MARTIN has published a coin which bears a complete legend[75]. RAMA RAO has also read the complete legend on a coin in Madras Museum[76].

(3) *Raño Vāsiṭhīputasa Siri Caḍa Sātasa.* This legend has been read as-*vaḍa Sāta* by CUNNINGHAM[77] and *vaḍa Sātaka(ṇi)* by SMITH[78]. But RAPSON maintains that the first letter is undoubtedly *ca*, whenever it can be seen distinctly[79]. Madras Museum also has a coin with this legend according to RAMA RAO.[80]

(4) *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.* Many coins having this legend are catalogued by RAPSON and on some of them the legend may be read distinctly[81].

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with crescent; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of double circles.

RAPSON has published a coin from Pearse Collection where *Sātakaṇisa* is legible and the restoration of *Ruda* before it seems probable[82]. However, a coin published by MARTIN bears distinctly. . . .*putasa Siri Ruda Sā(takaṇisa)*[83].

5. Square; copper.

Obverse : Three-arched hill with a crescent; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with orbs of a single circle.

MIRASHI (V. V.) has publsihed a coin of this type from Kaus Collection, where only two letters of the legend are available on the lower left side[84]. He has read it from inside as *ṇaka* and taken it to mean *Nāga* and attributed the coin to some feudatory of the early Sātavāhanas. But the legend is to be read from outside as *kaṇa* and forms part of *Sātakaṇi*. A similar coin is known from the Brahmapuri excavations, on which *putasa Sara Sāta(kaṇisa)* is read; but it is not clear[85].

X. Deccan – Arched Hill Type (Group B) :

In this group may be placed those coins which have six-arched hill. They are :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Six-arched hill with crescent at the top; a wavy line below; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

RAPSON has attributed all the coins of this type that he knew to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi and has suggested the legend *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* on them[86]. But all his coins, except one, have only the matronymic portion of the legend; only one coin has (*sa*) *ra Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[87]. RAMA RAO is of opinion that the coins which do not show *Yaña* should be ascribed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[88]. But while it may be said that some coins belong to Yajña Sātakarṇi, evidence is yet to be found that coins of this type also belong to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

2. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Six-arched hill with crescent; a wavy line below; triangle-headed standard with base on left and *svastika* on right.

   Reverse : Same as variety 1.

The legend on two coins published by RAPSON has been restored as *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[89]; but none of them has the complete legend and the name portion is missing on them; but a few coins in the Madras Museum show the latter part of the legend and indicate that the coins were issued by Yajña Sātakarṇi[90]. RAMA RAO has published a coin of this type in his list under Gautamīputra Sātakarni[91]; but on it only the fragment *Raña Gota* is available, which is not enough for the attribution.

3. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Same as variety 2, but *svastika* on either side of the hill.

   Reverse : Same as varieties 1 and 2.

RAMA RAO (M.) has listed a coin of this type under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[92]; but it bears incomplete legend *Raña Gotamiputasa*. In view of the earlier two types, it is more likely that this also belongs to Yajña Sātakarṇi. But without better specimen, no proper attribution is possible.

RAMA RAO has also mentioned a coin in the Madras Museum having six arches with the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhi(putasa)*; but he does not say if the hill has a crescent. If it has a crescent then it belongs to this variety and was issued by some ruler having the matronymic *Vāsiṣṭhīputra*.

XI. Deccan – Arched-Hill Type (*Group C*) :

In this group may be placed those coins which have ten-arched hill on the obverse. They may be described as follows :

1. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; legend around.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

This variety is known with the following legends :

(1) *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri....* The coins with this legend are known exclusively from the Madras Museum and published by RAMA RAO[93]. Since on them the legend is fragmentary, the coins cannot be properly attributed; but it is not unlikely that it relates to Yajña Sātakarṇi.

(2) *Sāmisa Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri....* These coins are also known in the Madras Museum[94]. A coin of the variety with this legend is also published by RAMA RAO from Nalakondapalli[95]; there too the name of the issuer is missing. Quite likely the coins belong to Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvī.

2. Round; lead.

   Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; triangle-headed standard with base to left and *svastika* to the right of the hill; legend around.

   Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

A few coins of this type are known in the Madras Museum; on them RAMA RAO has read *Raño Gotamiputasa*[96]; a coin has the legend *(Sata)kaṇisa*. It is quite likely that the coin belonged to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; *svastika* to left and lotus to the right of the hill; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

Madras Museum has a coin with the legend partly visible as *Yaña Sātakaṇi*[97]. In this case, it may well be said that the complete legend might have been *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* and that the coin belonged to Yajña Sātakarṇi.

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Ten-arched hill with crescent; the hill is broad on the sides and squatting in the height; at times the arches are closed; to left lotus bud; to right conch-shell; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs and crescent over one of the orbs.

RAPSON has published two such coins[98]; their arches are closed. But a coin in the Madras Museum has the arches open[99]. The legend on them is *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.*

A Madras Museum coin is described as having ten arches of the squatting type without crescent and the side symbols, i. e. the hill is plain[100]. But the illustration is not enough to enable us to know if the device was really plain. However, interest lies in the fact that it bears the legend *Satasa* below the hill, which means that it was issued by some other ruler than Yajña Sātakarṇi.

XII. Deccan – Horse Type :

A large number of lead coins bearing horse on one side are known from the Krishna and Godavari districts; but most of them do not disclose legend. They cannot be attributed properly nor much can be made out of them for history. Those few, which have some legend, may be described as follows :—

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing to right; a *śrīvatsa* symbol above and a spherical object in front; legend around.

Reverse : Six-arched hill with crescent and a tree in railing placed side by side over a rectangular platform which is ornamented with a wavy line and dots.

The following legends have been identified so far :—

(1) *Ha(riti. . . .) ta ma ma sa.* RAPSON has read this legend on a coin found at Bhathapalli in Anantapur district and published by him[101].

(2) *Raña Vāsiṭhiputasa Sātakaṇisa.* GUPTE (Y. R.) has described a few coins from Bhathapalli with this legend and obverse of this variety[102]. He, however, does not describe the reverse.

(3) *Raño. . . . . . . .Puḷumāvisa.* RAMA RAO (M.) has described a coin from the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay[103]; but I am not sure of this coin.

2. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse to right; *śrivatsa* symbol above; some object which looks like a truncated human figure; legend around.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing and ten-arched hill with crescent above and dots in arches placed side by side over a platform ornamented with wavy line and dots.

ALTEKAR (PADMA) has published a coin of this type from Amaravati[104]. The legend on the coin is uncertain.

3. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; legend above.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

4. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; crescent above; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

Both the types with the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* have been attributed by RAPSON to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi[105].

5. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; some indistinct object (altar identified by RAPSON) before it; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with plain orbs.

6. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing right; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

Both these varieties have the legend *Siri Caḍa Sātakaṇisa*[106]. They are published by RAPSON. SMITH reads *va* in place of *ca* in the name *Caḍa*[107].

7. Round; lead.

Obverse : Horse standing left; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with double-circled orbs.

The variety is published by RAPSON with the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*[108].

XIII. Deccan – Wheel Type :

A perfect and beautiful coin from the collection of Kaus published by NARAIN (A. K.)[109] is as follows :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : A wheel of twelve spokes; legend around, *Raña Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Puḷumāvisa*.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a dot in each orb.

XIV. Coromandal Coaste – Ship Type :

A few coins having a ship on the obverse are known from various places on the Coromandal coast; but most of them do not reveal the legend. Those few, which bear some legend, may be described as follows :

1. Round; lead.

Obverse : A ship of two masts with a fish and a conch indicating the sea; legend around.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with crescent over one orb.

The legends on these coins are identified as follows :

(1) *(sā)m(i)sa S(i)ri Pu(ḷumāvisa).* **Rapson** has read *Siri Pu (ḷumā)visa* on a coin[110]; but what he has read as *visa* is really the part of the title *Sāmisa*. The full legend has been restored by **Mirashi** (V. V.)[111].

(2) *Raña Sāmisa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa.* **Mirashi** has published a coin with this legend from Chebrol in Guntur district[112] and another coin was obtained at a scrap dealer's shop at Poona[113].

XV. Tamiladeśa – Silver Portrait Type :

A few silver coins are known as follows :—

Obverse : The head of the king to right with a circular legend in Brāhmī-Prakrit.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with crescent on an orb and six-arched hill placed side by side; sun symbol between the two; a wavy line below; a circular legend around in Brāhmī–Tamil, meaning the same as the legend on the obverse.

These coins are known of the four rulers as follows :

(1) *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.* Only four coins are known[114]. They bear the legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa* on the obverse and *Aracanaku Vācittimākuṇaku thiru Cātakaṇiku*[115] on the reverse.

(2) *Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi.* Seven coins are known[116]. They bear the legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa* on the obverse. The reverse legend is not yet fully read; but perhaps it is *Aracaṇaku Gotamiputaku thiru Yaña Cātakaṇiku*[117].

(3) *Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāyi.* Only one coin is known so far[118]. The legend on this coin is not clear; but in its truncated form, it might be *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Sirī Puḷumāvisa.* On the analogy of the above coins, the reverse Tamil-Brāhmī legend would be *Aracaṇaku Vāsiṭhiputaku* (or *Vācittimākuṇaku*) *thiru Puḷumāviku.*

(4) *An unnamed king.* A coin found in the river Madha, a tributary of Mahānadi, at Balpur in Raigarh district (M. P.) is in extremely poor condition[119]. Legend on it cannot be made out.

The most important fact that deserves our attention is the bi-lingualism of these coins. All the other coin-types of the Sātavāhanas are uni-lingual and bear uniformly Prākrit legends. If these coins were meant for the same region, where other coin-types were current, the Prākrit legend on these coins too would have served the purpose well. But if these coins have the legend on the other side in a different dialect, it undoubtedly meant that they were issued for an area, where the Prakrit was not known or at least was not popular. Since the dialect of the reverse side is identified as Tamil, it may well be said that they were meant for Tamiladeśa. It may then also be postulated that these coins were most likely inspired by the Roman *denarius*, which were then inflowing in the country through trade and were known in quite a large number in the South.

XVI. North Maharashtra – Silver Counterstriking Type :

A big hoard of some 13,220 silver coins was discovered in 1906 near the village Jogalthambi in the Nasik district[120]. It contained exclusively the coins of Śaka Mahākṣatrapa Nahapāna; of them 9,270 were restruck with the devices and the name of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Only a few coins of the hoard are now available in the museums for study; rest were melted at the mint. They show the re-striking devices as follows :—

One side : Arched hill; a wavy line beneath; legend around *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*. The hill symbol is distinguishable in two forms :

(i) three-arched;
and (ii) six-arched.

Each of the two varieties has four forms :

(i) simple hill;
(ii) with pellet in each arch;
(iii) with crescent above;
(iv) with crescent above and pellet in each arch.

Other side : Ujjain symbol with orbs of one circle. This is distinguishable in six forms :

(i) plain;
(ii) with crescent over one of the orbs;
(iii) with pellets in each orb;
(iv) with crescent over one orb and pellets in orbs;
(v) with pellets in each orb and round centre;
and (vi) with crescent over an orb, pellets in orbs and round centre.

On the basis of the forms of the obverse and reverse devices TRIVEDI (H. V.) had noticed thirteen pairs of striking devices[121]. A few more pairs were noticed by me amongst the coins of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

It is also noteworthy that the counterstruck coins of Nahapāna are not known outside the Jogalthambi hoard. But it is difficult to believe that so many devices were introduced only to punch a few thousand coins of the vanquished opponent. Their purpose undoubtedly would have been originally to strike Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's own coins. That coins with the three-arched hill and Ujjain symbol in lead were being struck in the period of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is suggested by the Nevasa excavations, where a lead coin of the type has been found in the layer which yielded

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's coins of other types[122]. Unfortunately this coin is fragmentary and the legend is missing; otherwise, something could have been said with authenticity.

That these devices were actually used for issuing silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is borne out by the coin, said to have come from Ujjain and published by ALTEKAR (A. S.)[123]. It may be described as follows :

Obverse : Six-arched hill with pellets in each arch; below a wavy line; legend around *Rañа Gotami*........

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with pellet in each orb.

Legend being incomplete on the coin, ALTEKAR attributed this coin of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He relied upon RAPSON, who had remarked that the change from three-arched hill to six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi[124]. But we now know that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi did use six-arched hill device for counterstriking Nahapāna's coins. Moreover, the coins issued by Yajña Sātakarṇi in lead have the six-arched hill with crescent and Ujjain symbol of double-circled orbs. Both these features are lacking in the above coin. So it could not be attributed to Yajña Sātakarṇi. It can only be the coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi[125].

Besides these types, RAPSON has attributed a few more types and varieties to the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories. But that they do not belong to the Sātavāhanas is now well-known from a number of excavations and they need not be discussed here.

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2. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 110–11, Pl. VI.2.
3. *INC*, VI, pp. 43–44.
4. *BMC, AI*, pp. 141–144.
5. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 35–36, Pl. II.13–14.
6. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 70–71, Pl. II.21.
7. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 615, fig. 2; *BMC, AK*, p. 1, Coin 2, Pl. I.
8. *JNSI*, XVI, p. 95, Pl. V.3.
9. *INC*, VI, pp. 43–44.
10. H. D. Sankalia and others, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa* (*Nevasa*), pp. 171–72; coins 1175, 1981, Pls. 74.1, 75.1; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 139, Pl. VIII.3.
11. *Nevasa*, p. 179; Coins 1810, 6710, 6659, 1369, 1712, 4695. Two others are not described.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 171, Coin 2184, Pl. 74.3.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 188–189, coins 1195, 942, Pl. 81.4-5. The legend on the coins has been restored by me after carefully examining the coin.
14. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 26–27, Pl. II.6.
15. *Nevasa*, p. 172; coins 6490, 3640, Pls. 75.1, 76.1; pp. 180-81, coins 6863, 6544, Pl. 78.2.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 198, coin 1573; Pl. 82–6.
17. *BMC, AK*, p. 17, coins 60–86, Pl. IV.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 17, coin 59, Pl. IV.
19. *JNSI*, XV, p. 205, Pl. VII.2.
20. *BMC, AK*, p. 3, coins 2–3; Pl. I.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 3, coins 5–6; Pl. I.
22. *JNSI*, IV, p. 25, Pl. II.4.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 27, Pl. II.7.
24. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 27, Pl. II.1.
25. *BMC, AK*, p. 1, coin 1; Pl. I.
26. *IMC*, I, p. 212; Pl. XXIII.21.
27. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 1–2, Pl. II.1.
28. *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 5–6; *JNSI*, VII, p. 113.
29. *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 91–93; Pl. II.7.
30. *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 116–7; Pl. VIIIA.1.
31. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 134; Pl. VI.6.
32. *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 5–6, Pl. II.11.

33. Rapson has taken these coins to be made of an alloy of copper which he has termed as potin (*BMC, AK*, intro., p. lxxx). This term is now in vogue for these coins amongst the scholars. But an analysis of the coins shows that they contain only copper (*NS*, XLII, p. 31).

34. *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1892, p. 117 ff. 35. *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–94; Pl. VIII.

36. *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, No. 5 (1955–57), pp. 62–64.

37. *Annual Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department*, 1940–41, p. 16 ff.; *Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archaeological and Historical Society*, 1941, p. 21 ff.; *ABORI*, XII, p. 180 ff.; *Kondapur* (Monograph published by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department).

38. *JNSI*, XV, p. 76. 39. *Ibid.*, XXIII, p. 334; Pl. III.13, 13A. 40. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 18–19; Pl. I.3.

41. *Ibid.*, II, p. 91. 42. *Ibid.*, XII, pp. 27–28, coins 2–3; Pl. II.2–3.

43. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 75, Pl. I.20. 44. *CSI*, p. 152B, Pl. II.43. 45. *BMC, AK*, p. 41, coin 164; Pl. VI.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 46, Pl. VII G. P. 2–4. 47. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50. 48. *NS*, XLVII, pp. 93–94.

49. *BMC, AK*, p. 4, coins 9–12; Pl. I. 50. *JNSI*, XII, p. 28, coins 5, 9, 10. 51. *Ibid.*, XIII, pp. 33–34; Pl. II.12.

52. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 28, Pl. II.8.

53. *Nevasa*, p. 182; coin 3007; Pl. 79.3.

54. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 54–55; Pl. II.19. 55. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 90–91; Pl. V.4. 56. *BMC, AK*, p. 4, coin 8, Pl. I.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12, coins 33-46, Pl. III. 58. *Ibid.*, intro., p. lxxv.

59. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 74–75, Pl. I.19.

60. *JDHC*, II, p. 84, coin 43; Cf. Monograph, p. 10, coin 49. 61. *BMC, AK*, p. 24, coins G. P. 2–3; Pl. V.

62. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Government Museum*, Madras, (Bulletin of the Museum), pp. 5, 17.

63. *BMC, AK*, p. 28, coin GP4, Pl V. 64. *JNSI*, XIII, p. 132, Pl. VI.3. 65. *Ibid.*, XV, p. 180.

66. *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 147–49; Pl. VIII.10. 67. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 1.

68. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 54–55, Pl. III.1. 69. *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 133; Pl. VI.4.

70. *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 68–69; Pl.I.5. 71. *Nevasa*, p. 206; coin 4106; Pl. 83.6.

72. *BMC, AK*, p. 20, coins 88–89, Pl. VI.GP1.

73. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 10.

74. *BMC, AK*, p. 29, coins 115–16; Pl. V. 75. *NS*, XLV, p. 61, coin 2.

76. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 12.

77. *CAI*, p. 110. 78. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 623.

79. *BMC, AK*, intro., p. lxxii; p. 30, coins 117–34; Pl. VI.

80. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 15, coin 13.

81. *BMC, AK*, intro., p. 35, coins 135–38; Pl. VI. 82. *Ibid.*, p. 47, Pl. VII.GP5.

83. *NS*, LXV, p. 61, coin 3. 84. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 172–74, Pl. X.3.

85. *BDCRI*, XXI, pp. 49, 72, coin 110. 86. *BMC, AK*, p. 36, coins 139–45; Pl. VI.

87. *Ibid.*, coin 140. 88. *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 45. 89. *BMC,AK*, p. 37, coins 146–47; Pl. VI.

90. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, pp. 15–16, coin 28.

91. *JDHC*, II, p. 82, coin 14; cf. Monograph No. 34. 92. *Ibid.*, p. 82, coin 13; cf. Monograph No. 33.

93. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 16, coin 44.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 47. 95. *JNSI*, XVIII, p. 44, coin 15; Pl. V.16.

96. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum.*, p. 16, coins 37, 39.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 42. 98. *BMC, AK*, p. 34, coins 133-134.

99. *Select Sātavāhana Coins in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 16, coin 48.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 16, coin 45. 101. *BMC, AK*, p. 25, coin 105, Pl. V. 102. *IA*, XI, p. 173.

103. *JDHC*, II, p. 88, No. 76; cf. Monograph No. 70. 104. *JNSI*, XIV, p. 17 ff., Pl. I.18.

105. *BMC, AK*, pp. 38–39, coins 148–54; Pl. VI. 106. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33, coins 125–131; Pl. VI.

107. *ZDMG*, 1903, p. 623. 108. *BMC, AK*, p. 39, coin 161; Pl. VII.

109. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 178–79; Pl. IX.19. 110. *BMC, AK*, intro., pp. lxxxi–lxxxii, pp. 22–23, Pl. V.

111. *JNSI*, III, p. 44. 112. *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44. 113. *Ibid.*, XXIV, pp. 174–75.

114. (i) Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Gopalachari, *Early History of the Āndhradeśa*; Pl. I; *JNSI*, XI, pp. 59–63.
(ii) *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 9–12.

(iii) *Ibid.*, XXVII, pp. 32–35.
(iv) S. M. Shukla Collection. Noticed in *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 107 (Coin is now reported lost.).

115. This is the final reading by Ramayya (*Ibid.*, XXX, p. 75). [For a different reading, see I : 6 below – Ed.].

116. (i) Discovered in the Stūpa at Sopara. *JBBRAS*, XV, p. 305; *BMC*, *AK*, intro., pp. xc, 45.
(ii) From Amreli in Kathiawar in the British Museum, *BMC*, *AK*, intro., xc, p. 45.
(iii) From Baroda, *BMC*, *AK*, Pl. VII.
(iv) Found in the excavations at Besnagar. *ASI*, *AR*, 1913–14, p. 208, Pl. LXV.22.
(v) From Tripurī, *JNSI*, *XII*, p. 127.
(vi) In the Collection of Bala Sahib Patil of Paithan *Ibid.*, XXVI, p. 98.
(vii) Recently shown to me by M. C. Chaube, Jabalpur.
[Far another silver coin of Yajña Sātakarni, see above I. 2, Coin No. 6–Ed.].

117. This is my suggestion on the basis of a comparative study of the legends on these coins and on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi.

118. *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1–4.

119. *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 107 ff.

120. *JBBRAS*, 1907,

121. *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–99.

122. *Nevasa*, p. 166; coin 4363; Pl. 74.3.

123. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 111–12, Pl. VII.3.

124. *BMC*, *AK*, intro., p. lxxiii.

125. [That, this coin actually belongs to Gautamīputra Ṣātakarṇi, and not Yajña Sātakarṇi, has been shown earlier by P. J. Chinmulgund (*JNSI*, IX, pp. 93–94; X, pp. 22–23) and myself *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. – D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1920), pp. 113–119 – Ed.].

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I : 5

CONTACTS AND INFLUENCES AS REVEALED BY THE COINAGE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

By

A. N. LAHIRI

Some older scholars thought that the Andhras or the Sātavāhanas are placed by the Purāṇas amongst the rulers of Magadha[1]. But there is no evidence to show that they had anything to do with that region. As far as we know, they were predominantly a South Indian power and were, for all practical purposes, the first known ruling dynasty of the Deccan, even though the question of their actual homeland is far from settled.

However, the Sātavāhanas introduced a characteristic coinage which was evidently the earliest 'universal' currency of the region. It consists mainly of coins of minor metals, *viz.*, copper, potin (an alloy of copper and tin) and lead. While there is no record of a gold coin, unique or rare silver pieces are known of three or four Sātavāhana kings.

Motifs depicted on Sātavāhana coins of minor metals include certain broad devices like the figure of elephant, lion or horse and some traditional Indian symbols such as the tree-in-railing, the so-called Ujjain symbol, hill symbol, river symbol, etc. It is only the rare silver coins that depict on the obverse the issuer's head, but even there the reverse depicts a group of indigenous symbols like the crescent-topped hill, wavy line (or river), star, etc. As it appears, one or more of these devices and symbols probably served as the heraldic stamp or cognizance of the issuing authority.

Sātavāhana issues of minor metals generally bear on one side short or fragmentary Prakrit legends written in early Brāhmī characters. Rare silver pieces, on the contrary, bear somewhat longer legends on both sides. While the obverse legend is in Northern Prakrit and written in early (Northern) Brāhmī, the reverse legend is but a literal rendering of the obverse writing in what appears to be Dravidian Prakrit written in Southern Brāhmī characters.

However, we are here to see —

(a) if a critical study of the Sātavāhana coinage betrays any sign of contact in the form of direct or indirect influence upon itself;

and (b) if the Sātavāhana currency on its part had cast any influence on other contemporary or later coins.

V. A. SMITH made a somewhat sweeping remark regarding the alleged 'northern characteristics' of the coins of the Sātavāhanas, even though, as far as he knew, "there was no reason to suppose that any part of India to the north of the Narmada ever came under the Andhra sovereignty". SMITH maintained that "the coins of the dynasty are Northern rather than Southern in type, and, in fact, have nothing in common with the peculiar coinage of the South"[2]. Some later scholars also laid a special stress on the so-called 'northern characteristics' of the Sātavāhana coinage[3]. But it may be pointed out *in a general way* that 'the peculiar coinage of the South', to which SMITH refers, is evidently of a date later than the times of the Sātavāhanas, and, naturally, therefore, should not be contrasted with the Sātavāhana issues of ancient times.

However, it must be admitted that some of the prominent devices and symbols which occur on Sātavāhana coins are seen on the most primitive issues of Northern India, specially of Malwa, with which region early Sātavāhana kings appear to have been politically connected[4]. In fact, the somewhat obscure and perhaps the earliest known potin and copper issues of the Sātavāhanas, as illustrated in Plate I (Nos. 5-9) of RAPSON's *British Museum Catalogue of Andhra Coins*, betray a close similarity with the early uninscribed issues of Eran and Ujjain[5]. Besides their shape which is 'square' like the Eran-Ujjain pieces, they are of the same fabric as the latter issues. Moreover, these obscure square Sātavāhana coins have devices like the Ujjain symbol, the figure of elephant, the tree-in-railing and the solar symbol in common with the latter issues[6]. Of course, it is not easy to determine exactly from which coins the Sātavāhanas derived these symbols, since we find their extensive occurrence on various other archaic issues of Northern India[7]. These symbols were evidently the common property of diverse sects in different parts of ancient India[8]. Then, the use of Prakrit and Brāhmī script of the Northern variety on the part of the Sātavāhanas also indicates their indebtedness to the early coins of Northern India.

So far as the earliest known coins coming from South India are concerned, we do not know how far the *common* 5-symbol 32-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins (which are probably of North Indian origin)[9] exerted an influence on the Sātavāhana issues, which show certain symbols commonly seen on those punch-marked coins and other North Indian archaic coins. But the distinctively *local* 4-symbol 12-*ratti* silver punch-marked coins represented by the Singavaram (Krishna District) hoard[10] may not be void of interest in the present context. It is quite likely that the Andhra-Sātavāhana kings adopted from these primitive coins of their own region the figure of elephant and tree-in-railing which occur extensively on the peculiar silver coins of the Singavaram hoard.

The chief characteristic of the Sātavāhana coinage is the use of unusual metals like potin and lead. Quite a large number of Sātavāhana kings issued potin coins for certain regions of their dominions. Besides them some five Western Satrap rulers and two Kura kings of Kolhapur issued some potin coins[11]. Potin coins of the Western Satraps appear to have been issued for use in Malwa[12].

Lead was used extensively for coining purposes by the Sātavāhanas. Quite a large number of princes of various localities also used lead coins apparently on the analogy of the Sātavāhana issues.

Why the Sātavāhanas chose lead for their coins is not known. Evidently they found it convenient for manufacturing coins, and apparently it had a greater intrinsic value in those days and was available in plenty, specially by import, as is indicated by the statement of the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*[13]. It is noteworthy that two foreign rulers of Northern India, *viz.*, Strato II and Rañjuvula[14], used lead for preparing certain types of their coins. It is not unlikely that the Sātavāhana issues inspired them in this respect. Lead was also used for coining purposes by the so-called Kura kings of the Kolhapur region[15], chiefs like Sadakaṇa-kaḷālāya Mahāraṭhi of Chitradurga District[16] and Cuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda of Karwar District[17], and the Western

Satrap ruler Rudrasena III[18], besides the princes of the Ikṣvāku dynasty ruling in the Krishna-Guntur-Godavari region[19] and the Bodhi chiefs whose territory probably lay in certain undefined area in Western India[20].

But the rare silver issues of the Sātavāhanas betray unmistakable and direct influence of the silver coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India with whom they would often come into conflict. We do not know if Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who defeated Nahapāna struck any silver coin of his own. He, however, overstruck the normal silver coins of the vanquished Scythian ruler with his own symbols and name. While he put the crescent-topped Ujjain symbol on one side of Nahapāna's coins, on the other side was impressed the crescent-topped three-peaked hill with wavy line below and the circular legend which reads *Raña Gotamiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*[21].

About a dozen characteristic silver coins of Sātavāhana kings are however known. One of them with indistinct legend, once ascribed by A. S. ALTEKAR to Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[22], has been taken to be an issue of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi by P. J. CHINMULGUND[23] and AJAY MITRA SHASTRI[24]. A second coin bearing a blurred legend with two letters of the reverse writing, *pu* and possibly *ḷu* somehow visible, has been tentatively assigned to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi by H. V. TRIVEDI[25].

Besides the two controversial pieces ascribed to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and another specimen not attributable to any particular king because of its blurred legend[26], we know of at least three silver pieces of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi[27] and some six coins of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi[28]. All these known specimens of Sātavāhana silver issues were evidently modelled on the characteristic silver coins of the Scythian Satraps of Western India, since they are of the same weight and fabric as those of the latter rulers.

As we have shown elsewhere, Sātavāhana silver pieces are of the weight of 20 *rattis* like the Western Satrap issues, which were evidently adopted from the light-weight bilingual Indian drachms of the Greek rulers of India[29]. The fabric and design of the Sātavāhana issues are also similar to those of the Scythian princes. The obverse bears the realistic head of the king while the reverse has certain dynastic or personal emblems. The bilingual formula is also adopted[30]. While the obverse has the title and name of the issuer in Northern Prakrit written in Northern Brāhmī characters, the reverse bears its rendering in a sort of Southern, or rather Dravidian, Prakrit inscribed in what may be called Southern Brāhmī letters.

But when studied critically, Sātavāhana silver coins do not betray any sign of slavish copying of Western Satrap prototypes, even though they adopt their general convention in the matter of weight-standard, fabric, device and bilingualism. The artists of the Sātavāhana mints introduced in their issues an amount of originality never before witnessed in Indian coins. And in this respect they far surpass in design and beauty the silver coins of the North Indian tribes which were struck in imitation of the silver coins of the Greek kings of India[31].

Then, a distinct deviation was made in the matter of depicting the portrait of the Indian monarch. A highly realistic head was executed in purely Indian fashion[32]. The typical Western Satrap flat cap was rightly discarded and the capless head of the Sātavāhana king was quite faithfully depicted as wearing a crest-jewel, and in the case of Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi the bejewelled royal head was adorned with ear-ornament and the Brāhmiṇical *śikhā*. The utterly corrupt Greek-type obverse legend which virtually served the purpose of a border-decoration around the obverse portrait of the Western Satrap coins, was replaced by a clearly legible Northern Prakrit legend written in (Northern) Brāhmī characters. On the reverse the device of the Western Satrap coins gave place to the Sātavāhana device consisting of the crescent-topped Ujjain symbol and the six-peaked hill with a wavy line below. And finally was written an interesting circular legend around the reverse device, which is but a faithful Dravidian Prakrit rendering of the obverse (Northern Prakrit) legend in what look like Southern Brāhmī characters.

Then with regard to the impact of Sātavāhana coins on contemporary and somewhat later coins we may cite quite a few instances. The unusual metals, potin and lead, which the Sātavāhanas were the first to use extensively for their coins, were also employed, apparently in imitation of the Sātavāhana issues, by many contemporary and later rulers, as we have already seen. We may, however, study in detail coins which adopted the Sātavāhana types and fabric.

The use of the 'Hill' symbol on the reverse of the coins of Western Satrap princes of the Kārdamaka family appears to have been adopted from the coins of the Sātavāhanas. It does not appear either on those of the Kṣaharāta princes Bhūmaka and Nahapāna nor on the initial issue of Caṣṭana, the first coin-issuing king of the Kārdamaka house. While the 'Arrow and Thunderbolt' were the emblems of the former princes[33], the 'Crescent and Star' were evidently the heraldic stamps of the house of *Ghsamotikaputra* Caṣṭana, for the latter two symbols invariably occur on all coins of Caṣṭana and his successors[34]. But interestingly enough, Caṣṭana's initial coins display *only* the 'Crescent and Star'[35], *not also* the 'Crescent-topped hill with a wavy line below'[36], as are invariably seen on his later issues as well as the issues of his successors. As believed by **RAPSON**, Caṣṭana appears to have adopted the 'Hill' symbol from the contemporary coins of the Sātavāhanas, probably after annexing certain Sātavāhana territory[37]. The same 'Hill' symbol which occurs on the Traikūṭaka silver issues[38] was apparently adopted from the Western Satrap coins, not from the Sātavāhana issues with which they have practically nothing in common.

Though there is not much outward resemblance between the Sātavāhana coins on the one hand and those of the so-called Cuṭu and Ānanda chiefs of Kolhapur and Karwar as well as of Sadakaṇa-kaḷalāya Mahārathi of Chitradurga area on the other hand, one may find some points of interest between them. For, while lead is the metal used by all of them, the shape, size and fabric of the latter non-Sātavāhana issues strangely resemble those of the large round elephant-type lead coins of Śrī Sāta[39].

But quite evident is the stamp of Sātavāhana minor coins on those of the Ikṣvāku kings, who were probably their feudatories in the Krishna–Godavari–Guntur region. The Ikṣvāku coins, which are invariably in lead, generally adopt the devices of the Sātavāhana potin issues, *viz*., Elephant and Ujjain symbol[40]. There are, however, a large number of Ikṣvāku issues which replace the reverse Ujjain symbol by another rather uncommon symbol composed of 'one small circle surrounded by six similar small circles'[41].

There is yet another series of rather obscure coins with fragmentary Prakrit legend[42], which too appears to have been inspired by certain Sātavāhana lead issues. These coins bear on the obverse the figure of 'a horse standing to right' with *svastika* and a tree-in-railing above its hind part. The reverse has within a rectangular double-border a ten-peaked hill with a pellet in each peak-arch, surrounded by a crescent and two other symbols. While the obverse device has some clear affinity with that of the obverse device of certain coins of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi, the reverse device reminds us of the ten-peaked hill of the lead issues of the so-called Kura kings[43].

Finally, the tiny and obscure coins of the princes of the Bodhi family appear to be the lineal descendants of the coins of the Sātavāhanas, since they are in lead and bear the crescent-topped three-peaked hill of the coins of the Sātavāhanas[44].

We thus see that the Sātavāhana coins came into contact with certain earlier, or somewhat contemporary, coins of Western India. But while the sign of contact is not so prominent on coins of minor metals like potin and lead, the silver issues of the Sātavāhanas betray evident influence of the silver issues of the early Western Satrap prince Nahapāna. On the other hand, quite a large number of contemporary and near-contemporary rulers of various regions were more or less influenced by the well-established coins of the Sātavāhanas. This influence relates to the use of unusual metals like lead and potin as well as to the adoption of the types and fabrics of the Sātavāhana issues.

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3. Cf. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, pp. 20–21.

4. E. J. Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* [=*BMC(A)*], pp. xcii ff.

5. J. Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* [=*BMC (AI)*], pp. 140 ff., Plates XVIII–XIX (Eran coins) and pp. 241 ff., Plates XXXVI–XXXVIII (Ujjain coins).

6. Cf. (1) *BMC(AI)*, Pl. XVIII.16 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (Ujjain symbol); (2) *MBC (AI)*, Pl. XVIII.9 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (elephant); (3) *BMC (AI)*, Pl. XVIII.12 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.5 (tree-in-railing); (4) *MBC (AI)*, Pl. XXXVII.17 and *BMC (A)*, Pl. I.6 (solar symbol).

7. *BMC (AI)*, Pls. XX.7 (Ujjain symbol on Kauśāmbī coin), XXIV.16 (elephant on Mathurā coin), XV.1 (tree-in-railing on Audumbara coin), X.8 (solar symbol on punch-marked coin).

8. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, Introduction, p. clxxvii.

9. Cf. P. L. Gupta (Seminar Papers on) *The Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, pp. 2 ff., where he appears to regard the 5-symbol 32-*ratti* coins as the 'Imperial Series', associated with the Magadhan empire.

10. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 14, Pl. I.13.

11. E. J. Rapson, *BMC(A)*, p. 85, Pl. XI.293 (Jīvadāman); p. 93, Pl. XI.324 (Rudrasiṁha I); p. 105, Pl. XII.374 (Rudrasena I); p. 133; Pl. XIII.403 (dates within the reign of Dāmasena); p. 122,Pl. XIII.462 (without name or date, but assigned to Vīradāman). For the potin coins of the Kura kings see *ibid.*, p. 6, Pl. II.17–18 (Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura) and p. 9, Pl. III.31 (Māṭharīputra Sivalakura).

12. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. cxxv and cxxxiii.

13. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Ed. by W. H. Schoff (1912), p. 42 (Sec. 49).

14. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, p. 183, Pl. XXXII.9 (Strato II); *BMC (AI)*, Pl. XXVI.12–13 (Rañjubula).

15. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. 5–9, Plates I–III.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58, Pl. VIII.233–234.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60, Pl. VIII.235 (Cuṭukaḍānanda) and Pl. VIII.236 (Muḍānanda).

18. *Ibid.*, p. 187, Pl. XVII.889–890.

19. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58, *A Review*, p. 9, Plate V.

20. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, pp. 207–211, Pl. XVIII.983–1000 (for coins) and p. clxiv (for the location of their territory). [However, the recent discovery of a large number of coins and seals of the Bodhis in the excavations at Tripurī indicates their location in the Jabalpur region — Ed.]

21. *Ibid.*, p. 68, Pl. IX.256.

22. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, pp. 111 ff.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 93 ff. and Vol. X, pp. 22 ff.

24. *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. D. C. Sircar), pp. 113–119.

25. *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1 ff.

26. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107 ff.

27. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (?) : (1) *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 111; Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (?) : (2) *Ibid*, Vol. XIV, p. 1; Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi : (3) *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 59, (4) *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 1, (5) *Ibid.* (unpublished), (6) *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 32–35 (and Vol. XXX, p. 74).

28. Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi : (7–9) *BMC (A)*, p. 45, Pl. VII.EI, 178, J. B., (10) *ASI, AR*, 1913–14, p. 213, (11) *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 126 (12 *Ibid.*), Vol. XXVI, pp. 98–99. [For yet another silver coin of this monarch, see I : 2 above — Ed.].

29. *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta University, Vol. I, p. 62.

30. Silver coins of Nahapāna adopted the bilingual formula introduced by the Indo-Greek kings. Nahapāna's coins bear on the obverse a corrupt Greek legend and on the reverse Prakrit legend (written in both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī letters).

31. J. Allan, *BMC (AI)*, p. 124, No. 21 (Audumbara Dharaghoṣa); p. 159, No. 1 (Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti); p. 125, No. 23 (Vemaki Rudravarman); p. 281, No. 17 (Vṛṣṇi Rājajñagaṇa); and p. 270, No. 47 (Brahmaṇya Yaudheya).

32. It is *head*, not bust, as seen on Western Satrap silver coins.

33. E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, p. 63.

34. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.259 (Caṣṭana) and Plates X-XVIII (successors of Caṣṭana).

35. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.E1.

36. *Ibid.*, Pl. X.259.

37. *Ibid.*, p. clxvii.

38. *Ibid.*, Plate XVIII.

39. *Ibid.*, Pl. I.1.

40. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58, *A Review*, Plate V (Ikṣvāku coins) and *JNSI*, Vol. II, Plate VIII (Sātavāhana Potin coins).

41. Cf. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1957-58, p. 11.

42. V. V. Mirashi, *Some More Coins of the Mahisha Dynasty from Maski and Kondapur* (Hyderabad Museum Numismatic Series, No. 3), Pl. II.a2.

43. Cf. for the obverse E. J. Rapson, *BMC (A)*, Pl. VI.148 [Yajña Sātakarṇi's (lead coin) and for the reverse, Pl. IV.G.P.I.] (Maṭharīputra Sivalakura's coin).

44. Cf. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII.984 (coin of Vārabodhi) and Pl. V.89 (coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi).

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I : 6

SILVER PORTRAIT COINS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

By

P. R. K. PRASAD

I

The Sātavāhanas are the first indigenous monarchs to issue silver coinage with the royal busts. To start with, the great Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is known to have restruck the silver coins of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Nahapāna of Western India after exterminating him. This was probably during his 18th regnal year.

The silver coins of the Sātavāhanas are very rare when compared with their base metal series in copper, potin and lead. Besides the well-known Jogalthambi hoard and a few restruck coins from elsewhere, only about a dozen of them have so far come to light[1]. Out of these, six belong to Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Sātakarṇi, three to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and the rest are attributed to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

The devices of the restruck silver coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi are similar to those used on his base metal series.

Obverse : Three–or six-arched hill with or without crescent on the top and with or without pellets in the arches. Beneath, a wavy line. A circular legend around the border in Brāhmī characters read as *Raño Gōtamīputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with or without crescent on the top and with or without pellets in the orbs[2].

A single fresh coin (without any sign of super-imposition) bearing only the above-described devices with an indistinct legend beginning with *Raño Gōtami*.... has been attributed to Yajña Sātakarni by DR. ALTEKAR[3]. RAPSON felt that the six-arched hill symbol was a later introduction by Yajña Sātakarṇi. However, it is now known that the six-arched hill symbol was introduced by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi on his silver and base metal series. His successors, Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi, while issuing their bust type coins, took care to incorporate both the Ujjain and Hill symbols on their reverse. Therefore, it does not appear probable that Yajña Sātakarṇi, while issuing his own bust type, again revived this old type which was discontinued by his two predecessors. CHINMULGUND[4] and DR. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI[5], therefore, hold that this type also was the issue of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and as such he is the first Sātavāhana king who started the independent issues in silver.

Bust Type Coins

While the silver currency was started by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, his successor Puḷumāvi is generally believed to have introduced the royal portrait on the silver issues and this was continued by his two successors, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi during their reigns. This bust type of these three kings is uniform in type but for the names and titles of the issuing kings. In general they are as described below :—

Obverse : Bust of the king to right with prominent crest jewel on the forehead. Prominent nose and punched ears with heavy *karṇa-kuṇḍalas* are the typical features of the bust. Legend around in Brāhmī characters giving the king's name together with his title and metronymic.

Reverse : Crescented six-arched hill on the right and crescented Ujjain symbol on the left with a rayed sun in between the two crescents. A wavy line below. Legend around in Southern variety of Brāhmī characters in Dravidian dialect giving the king's name together with his title and metronymic.

It is apparent that the bust coins of the Kṣaharātas and the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapas influenced Sātavāhana kings to introduce the royal bust on their silver issues. Though it is a foreign impact, the Sātavāhana coins are distinct by themselves in many ways from their Western Indian prototypes and depict the indigenous element in them.

The Sātavāhanas, like their Western contemporaries, issued (1) uniform type, (2) portrait coins, (3) in white metal, (4) with bilingual legends and continued without any change in type upto three generations. Together with these similarities we see that the royal bust is purely in Indian traditional style and the customary metronymics were used unlike the patronymics of the Kārdamakas. While the Śaka Kṣatrapas used the Kharōṣṭhī and the Brāhmī legends on their coins indicating the place of their origin and rule respectively together with that of their masters in the Greek[6], the Sātavāhanas used Prakrit legend in the Brāhmī characters and Dravidian legend in the Southern variety of Brāhmī characters indicating their place of rule and origin respectively.

The royal busts are of special significance. They are the earliest reliable contemporary portraits giving an idea of the physical features of the Sātavāhana rulers who appear to be strong and sturdy with a look of determination and action. Particularly Puḷumāvi with his acquiline nose seems to be a man of assertive nature and resolution. The broad ears with prominent punches, the ear-rings with long and heavy *karṇa-kuṇḍalas* almost touching the shoulders particularly in the case of Yajña Sātakarṇi, a traditional custom seen even in the present-day *Somayājins* in Āndhradeśa are conspicuous and interesting to note. They are bare-headed with frizzled hair in general. On three of his coins Yajña Sātakarṇi is depicted with clean-shaven head and with a massive ornament at his temples touching the ears. Interestingly he is depicted invariably on all his coins with a tuft (*śikhā*) probably indicating him as an orthodox performer of Vedic sacrifices, a unique Brāhmaṇa (*eka-Brāhmaṇa*). A clear flower-like object, a crest-jewel (*mauli-maṇi*) studded with a central diamond surrounded by eight smaller ones, perhaps a sort of *rāja-lāñchana* or *mukuṭa* is seen on the foreheads of all the kings[7].

There is a coin very much worn out and mutilated, published by Dr. P. L. Gupta[8], which is grouped into the Sātavāhana coins but could not be definitely attributed to any known king (Fig. I. 1-2). It contains on the reverse the crescented Ujjain symbol and six-arched hill symbol with pellets in orbs and arches. On the obverse it has the bust of the king to right, bare-headed with untied hair turned back. The nose and the ear with its loop are prominent. An indistinct object, perhaps *karṇa-kuṇḍala*, is seen near the loop. The king wears moustache. Partially visible illegible legend reads as ....*tasama*?....on the obverse and *rahaṇasa* on the reverse. It is apparently clear that it belongs to one of the Sātavāhana kings. On stylistic grounds an attempt is made here to trace out its issuer.

We notice a sort of development towards fineness in the depiction of the royal bust on the coins from Puḷumāvi to Yajña Sātakarṇi. The workmanship, in crisp and clean manner, brings out all parts of the bust and outline clearly into relief. Even on the reverse, symbols, legend and the beaded border design around are artistically worked out (Fig. I. 3–10). But this is not seen in the present coin. The bust is depicted in a crude manner. Hair style could not be properly executed. Even the facial expression, chin and eye-ball are not well worked out. The fineness and clarity are lacking in the symbols and legend on the reverse. The artist could not attempt the portrait in well-finished style as those on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi. This indicates its earlier place among the Sātavāhana coins.

Moreover, the moustache on the king's face is a foreign thing to the Sātavāhana kings. Neither Puḷumāvi (Fig. I.3) nor Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.4–5, 7) nor Yajña Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.8–9) is depicted with moustache. This appears to be a direct influence of the Nahapāna and the Kārdamaka coins wherein the kings are depicted with prominent moustache without a single exception. The modeller of the mint, perhaps, in his first attempt to prepare the king's portrait, keeping a Kṣaharāta coin as model in his mind, tried to bring out the features of the king with prominent nose, ears with loops and frizzled hair. While doing so he brought out the king's moustache also into the portrait which feature is uncommon in Indian art. The Indian artist of earlier, contemporary and immediately later periods somehow felt it untraditional or inauspicious and avoided its depiction even in the case of kings and warriors who are supposed to have had moustache. This feature is seen withdrawn in the coins of Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Sātakarṇi.

In the devices on the reverse, we see the pellets in the orbs and arches which feature is noticed on some of the coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi in the Jogalthambi hoard but was discontinued by his successors on the silver issues (Fig. I.6–10).

Therefore, from all these facts, this coin has to be assigned an earlier date in the bust coin series and probably belongs to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who initiated the silver currency. In such a case it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that after restriking Nahapāna's coins and issuing his own series with the same symbols and finding them no match to the beautiful bust type coins of his vanquished enemy for whose usage the people of the newly acquired territory were accustomed, Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi introduced his bust type also.

Thus, so far as the Sātavāhanas are concerned, the credit of introducing an independent currency and portrait coinage in white metal goes to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

II

Legend on the Reverse of the Portrait Coins

Portrait coins of the Sātavāhanas, like those of their Western Śaka contemporaries, are bilingual. All of them have legends on both the sides. But owing to their illegible and partial appearance particularly on the reverse, the attempts of many scholars like Bhandarkar, Altekar and others to decipher them have not been fully successful. However, on the basis of a well-preserved coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.6) Dr. Sircar[9] gave a satisfactory reading and interpretation and also restored the damaged portion on the coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi published by Rapson (Fig. I.10).

The obverse as well as the reverse legends on the coins of all the different kings are similar but for the metronymics and names of the issuing kings. Again, as Rapson points out, the legends on the obverse and reverse of each king's coins differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents[10]. The obverse legend in Brāhmī characters is in Sanskritic Prakrit and is translated on the reverse into a Dravidian dialect in the Dravidian form of Brāhmī script. Rapson observes, "the reverse inscription is written in a variety of Brāhmī Alphabet which has not been found elsewhere but which approaches most nearly to that of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription and may perhaps represent merely a later stage of development. Buhler calls it Drāviḍī form of Brāhmī"[11].

The obverse legend on the coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi reads *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa* (this is the coin) of the illustrious king Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsiṣṭhī. According to Sircar, this is translated on the reverse into Draviḍian Prakrit in Southern variety of Brāhmī characters which reads *arahaṇaṣa Vāhiṭṭimākaṇaṣa tiru-Hātakaṇiṣa*. In this Sircar says that *ṣa* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case ending while *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are derived from Dravidian words meaning "King" and "Son" respectively. He further says that in the word *arahaṇa*, '*h*' represents the change of *s* or *ś* to *h* as in Sātakarṇi or Śātakarṇi modified to Hātakarṇi and Sanskrit Vāsiṣṭhī changing as Prakrit Vāhiṭṭī with the absence of aspiration while *tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *śrī* = Prakrit *siri* as used in modern Tamil. As regards *hiru* = *siri* = *śri* on Yajña Sātakarṇi's coins Rapson drew attention to *Haku* = *Śakti*; *Hāla* = *Sāta* etc., as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Sātavāhanas.

This interpretation is no doubt appreciable and most satisfactory. However, we humbly suggest that what is read as *ṣa* is, in our opinion, *ku* which is the sixth case ending in Telugu. This form of *ku* is also seen in the contemporary Sātavāhana records and slightly later records of the Ikṣvākus and the Bṛhatphalāyanas[12]. In our opinion the present legend is a Telugu one in a variety of Brāhmī characters prevalent in Āndhradēśa during those times.

Further, Dr. Sircar's observation that the two words *arasan* and *makan* are made to end with final vowel sound '*a*' is a typical feature in Telugu which is an *ajanta bhāṣā* wherein all the words and sentences terminate with final vowel sounds. When the case ending *ku* follows the words, it would be prefixed by an extra sound *na* as an *āgama*. Thus the two words *arasanaku* and *makanaku* are formed.

Though a greater impact of Sanskrit on Telugu has caused many of the originally Draviḍian words to recede into background, fortunately, these two words are traceable in literature upto late medieval and even modern times. As in Kannaḍa and Tulu, in Telugu also the word equivalent to Tamil *arasan* is *arasu*, *arasuḍu* or *arusu* which means king. Its usage is traceable upto sixteenth century[13]. Similarly, the equivalent for *magan* is *magaṇḍu* or *magaḍu* with *n* sound silent and *ḍu* being the nominative case ending (singular)[11]. Though in the earlier period this word is seen used in the sense of son, later on it changed its meaning and stood for valorous or vigorous person or leader and also in the sense of husband. This may be due to the influence of Sanskrit on the language as a result of which a number of Sanskrit words such as *sutuḍu*, *putruḍu*, *tanayuḍu*, *nandanuḍu*, and *kumāruḍu* have come into usage for son. As Dr. Sircar thinks, the long *mā* in the word *mākan* might be due to the original pronunciation of the word. *Mākan* might be the original Dravidian form of the later *Magaṇḍu* in Telugu.

The word *tiru* also is in extensive usage, not as an honorific term added in the beginning of the proper noun like *śri* of present day, but as an adjective with the sense of divinity.

Tirumāḷḷu = Festive days of God.
Tirupati = Lord of Śrī.
Tirunīru = The sacred dust applied on the forehead.

A number of literary examples of its usage in early period also are available.

Thus the above three Telugu words with the genitive suffix *ku* form a complete sentence *arahaṇaku Vāhiṭṭi-mākaṇaku tiru-Hātakaṇaku* giving the meaning "(this coin belongs) to King Śri-Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsiṣṭhī". In this case, the sixth case ending *ku* is seen suffixed to all the three words *arahaṇa*, *mākaṇa* and *Hātakaṇa* (both *viśeṣaṇas* and *viśēṣya*), which is not the practice in present day Telugu. But again, this is an impact of Sanskrit. This feature is still followed even to the present day in the (dedicatory) verses under the section *ṣaṣṭhyantamulu* in almost all the works.

Thus the legend is a Telugu one. Not only that, but it also seems to have been composed in verse form in one of the *Dēśi* metres in Telugu which might have been prevalent in the beginning of the Christian era. From the early Telugu inscriptions of Āndhradēśa it is seen that many of them were composed in *Dēśī* metres like *Dvipadagati Ragaḍa*, *Mahākkara*, *Taruvōja*, *Sīsam*, *Āṭaveladi* and others and also in Sanskrit metres like *Campakamālā*, *Utpalamālā*, *Mattēbha* and others[15]. It appears that the Andhra kings took interest in recording their inscriptions in verse form in different metres. The present legend on the coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi contains twenty-three *mātrās* with *prāsayati* maintained between the consonants in the second and fifteenth letters. In the legend on the reverse of the coins of Yajña Sātakarṇi (Fig. I.10), we see that *mākaṇaku tiru* is replaced by *putaku hiru* without any change in meaning. Perhaps, this change may be to adjust the *mātrās* for the metre since the king's proper name contains two extra *mātras* '*Yaña*'. Thus the change is made to contain the same number of twenty-three *mātrās*. *Yati* is maintained between the vowels in the first and the fourteenth letters. In both the cases the *yati* is fixed on the fifteenth *mātrā*. Both the metres are identical and can be grouped into one of the varieties of *Ragaḍa* metre, purely a *Dēśī* type, depending on the *mātrā chandas*.

ARAHAṆAKU VĀHIṬṬI— MĀKAṆAKU TIRU— HĀTAKAṆAKU.
ARAHAṆAKU GOTAMĪ— PUTAKU HIRU— YAÑA HĀTAKAṆAKU.

In this connection, the arguments put forth by SRI R. NAGASWAMY[16] and supported by SRI S. RAMAYYA[17] that the legend resembles Tamil do not appear to be sound. SRI NAGASWAMY opines that the letter *ha* resembles the letter *ca* of Tāmil inscriptions and proposes to read the words as *aracan*, *Vāciṭṭi* and *Cātakaṇi* and regards it as Tamil legend. But if his principle of *ca* is applied to the similar legend on the coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi, the legend *hiru- Yaña Hātakaṇa* becomes *ciru- Yaña Cātakaṇa* which, I feel, does not give any reasonable sense. The letter *ha* seems to be a variety of Brāhmī character with its loop towards right. He further feels that *ṣa*, the genitive suffix, stands for a different sound midway between *sya* of Sanskrit and *a* of Tamil which stands for possessive suffix. But SRI RAMAYYA feels that *ṣa* is new to Tamil.

The coins of both Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi have legends on both the sides. DR. P. L. GUPTA reads ....*rahaṇaṣa*....on the coin of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and DR. ALTEKAR reads *Raño* (*Vāsi*)*ṭhi*(*puta*)*ṣa* (*hi*)*ru Puḷu*(*māviṣa*) on the coin of Puḷumāvi on the reverse. The legend on the coin mould of the reverse device of the coin of Puḷumāvi, found in the Nagarjunakonda exca- vations, seems to read *Ara*....*ku tiru Puḷumāviku*, the missing portion being out of the flan. The symbols are similar to those on the bust type coins. The obverse must, therefore, have had the portrait of the king. These legends indicate that they are also in Telugu.

The Telugu legend on the Sātavāhana coins is significant in two ways. Firstly, in the history of Telugu literature, it is the earliest known recorded sentence. Earlier a solitary word *Nagabu* datable to *cir.* second century B. C. was noticed on one of the sculptures of Amaravati by Late VETURI PRABHAKARA SASTRY. All the other records, available so far, belong to the later period beginning from the fifth century onwards. Therefore, the present legend gives a fairly good idea of the form of Telugu in the early centuries of Christian era during the time of the Sātavāhanas.

Secondly, its use by the Sātavāhana kings on their coins. The Sātavāhanas are called Andhras in the Purāṇas and evidently their mother tongue was Telugu. When Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi came in conflict with the Kṣatrapas of Western India and acquired their territory, he felt the necessity of issuing his silver currency. Besides his ordinary type in silver, he might have issued his bilingual bust type coins also on the lines of the Western prototypes with which the local people were familiar. While doing so he introduced his mother tongue Telugu in Brāhmī characters (southern variety) on the reverse of his coins in lieu of the Kharōṣṭhī legend of the Kṣatrapas. From the provenance of the coins also it is evident that they were meant for circulation in the northern provinces of the empire.

Thus the Sātavāhana kings in issuing the coins, like the Kṣatrapas, indicated their Andhra origin by using Telugu on the reverse of their coins while the court language Prakrit was used on the obverse. Since they used Telugu, they depicted it in that variety of Brāhmī characters which was in vogue in the Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the Andhras during their times irrespective of their control over that land. Though it is not clear whether the present Telugu-speaking region formed part of their dominion right from the beginning of their rule in the Central Deccan, there is no doubt that Puḷumāvi and his successors exercised authority over that part. It may have been probably the illustrious Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, who initially extended his power over this land.

They are the foremost rulers to give their legends composed in *Deśī* metres of Andhra which are the forerunners to the Imperial Gupta legends composed in beautiful Sanskrit metres on their gold coins.

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An earthen coin mould of the reverse design belonging to Puḷumāvi from Nagarjunakonda excavations (*Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1956–57, Pl. LXI-Fig. B central figure), and an unpublished coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi in the cabinet of Sri S. M. Shukla of Bombay (P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XXI-II, p. 107) are reported. [For another silver portrait coin of Yajña Sātakarni, vide 1 : 2 above — Ed.]

2. With the combination of the above obverse and reverse symbols no less than thirteen varieties are noticed in the Jogalthambi hoard by Sri H. V. Trivedi (*JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–98).

3. Altekar, A. S., *ibid.*, VIII, pp. 111–113, Pl. VII-5.

4. Chinmulgund, P. J., *ibid.*, IX, pp. 93–96, Pl. VII-2.

5. Shastri, A. M., 'Silver Coinage of the Sātavāhanas', *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Calcutta, 1971), pp. 113–19.

6. This is only in the beginning. Later this Greek legend became an ornamental decoration without any significance.

7. S. V. Sohoni (*JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 100–103) observes that this knot on the forehead is a bunch of hair and thus the kings are depicted as warriors in Indian *padāti* style.

8. Gupta, P. L., *ibid.*, XXI, pp. 107–109, Pl. VI-1 and 1a.

9. Sircar, D. C., *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 107–115.

10. Rapson, E. J., *BMC, AWK*, pp. xc–xci.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. xc–xci.

12. Sivaramamurti, C., *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, pp. 73–74. He observes : "In the Sātavāhana inscriptions, the sign of medial '*u*' is either a straight horizontal stroke or a slight bent or a down elongated stroke standing slightly towards its end".

Ibid., p. 163, Inscription of Queen Balaśrī in the Nasik cave.

Ibid., p. 165, Inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus of Nagarjunakonda on Āyaka pillar of Mahācaitya.

Ibid., p. 167, Koṇḍamudi grant of Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman.

13. Kākunūru Appakavi, *Appakavīyamu*, Asv. 3, stanza 230.

14. Prabhakara Sastri, Vetur, *Telugu Merugulu*, 3rd Ed., pp. 159 ff. *Maganru* found in Telugu inscriptions (*SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 622, 632, etc.) is the plural form of *Magaṇḍu*. Vide Arudra : *Samagra Āndhra Sāhityamu*, Vol. I, p. 68.

15. Arudra, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 73, 92 and 95.

16. Nagaswamy, R., *Sunday Standard*, Madras, dated 26–3–67.

17. Ramayya, S., *Ibid.*, dated 10–12–67.

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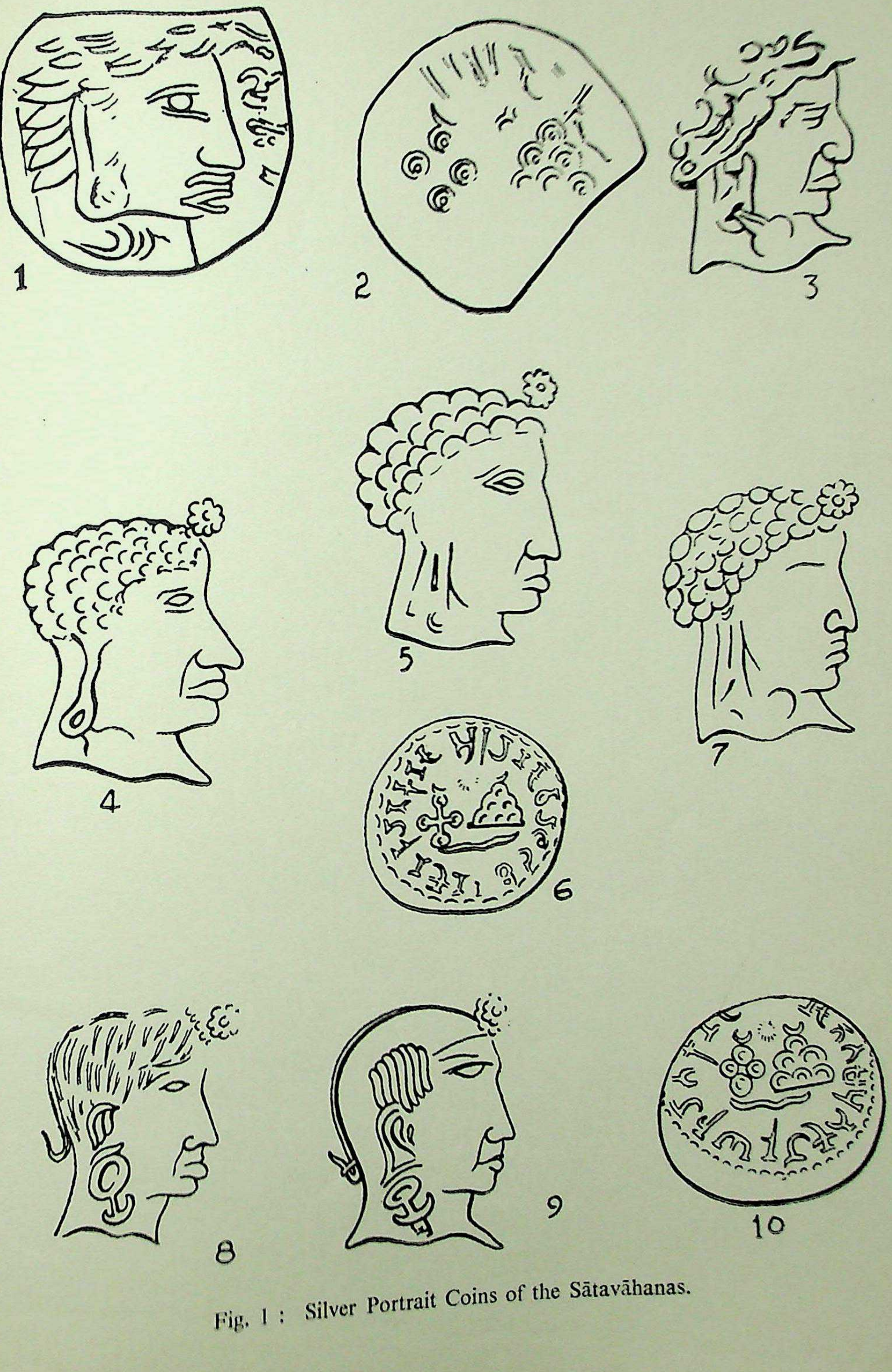
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Fig. 1 : Silver Portrait Coins of the Sātavāhanas.

I : 7

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION, SEQUENCE, CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA COINAGE*

By

I. Karthikeya Sarma

I. *Introduction* :

Among the early rulers of the Deccan, no other dynasty has left to the posterity so varied and numerous coinage as the Sātavāhanas. Their coinage, right from the beginning, was predominantly of two metals — copper and lead. However, a few silver issues were introduced from the time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and continued till Yajña Śrī's period.

The illustrious rulers of this empire, according to the Purāṇas[1], endured for 460 years, at one time extending their sway even as far as Ajmer in the north and the oceans in the south. Their political and cultural history bristles with problems. This is essentially because of the incomplete nature of the source material and the dogmatic reliance on one or the other of such sources. There is no doubt in the fact that the Purāṇic accounts provide us with a fairly dependable general information about these rulers, but their individual details and facts that are required for a factual historical reconstruction of the Sātavāhanas within a broader framework of the history of the period (from the present day historian's point of view) lack consistency and correlation. For this purpose, we have to fall back on a few epigraphs of this dynasty, and a large number of coins whose provenances, culture-contexts and sequences are again unfortunately not precise and muddled in a majority of cases.

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*The following abbreviations have been used in this paper :—

ABORI=*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; AI*=*Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India; AIU*=*Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar (Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan), Bombay; *ASIAR*=*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report; ASWI*=*Archaeological Survey of Western India; BPWM*=*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay; *BMGM*=*Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 1959; *BMC*=E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Andhra and Western Kshatrapas*, etc. (1908); *BDCRI*=*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona; *CAI*=Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India; CCAI*=J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum; CHI. II*=*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, Ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Calcutta, 1957); *CCIM*=V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1906); *EI*=*Epigraphia Indica; EHD*=*Early History of the Deccan* (Ed. G. Yazni); *Elliot* =Elliot, *Coins of Southern India; IAR*=*Indian Archaeology, A Review; IA*=*Indian Antiquary; IHQ*=*Indian Historical Quarterly; JDHC*=*Journal of Deccan History and Culture; JMU*=*Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (Madras, 1959); *JNSI*=*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India; JOU*=*Journal of the Osmania University*, Hyderbad; *MSI*=Mirashi, *Studies in Indology; Nevasa*=H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari and Sophia Erhardt, *From History to Prehistory at Nevasa* 1954–56; *PASB*=*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, pp. 116–117. *Rama Rao*, 1961=*'Satavahana Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, A. P. Govt. Museum Series, No. 2 (Hyderabad, 1961); *Rea*=Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* (1894), pp. 21–31, Pls. XII–XXIII; *SI*=D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Second Revised Edition, 1965).

Nonetheless, the meagre epigraphical data could be eked out with the aid of the only other ubiquitous source, *viz.*, numismatics, as far as the Sātavāhana history is concerned. It is to be borne in mind that the literary evidence, in course of centuries, grows up (rather accumulates), never deteriorates; but the archaeological evidence, *viz.*, numismatics, epigraphy, pottery, houses and so on, as time passes, is lost and comes to us more and more inadequately. The student of history of this century has a greater burden and should be more critical in assessing, assimilating and marshalling the incomplete and inadequate archaeological data to get at the kernel out of the vast literary sources and should not simply dismiss, at the outset, the more elaborate and descriptive ancient Indian literature as merely unfounded.

Keeping in mind these guidelines, it is proposed to discuss the entire Sātavāhana coinage, more specifically the distribution-pattern (extent) and chronology (sequence). Whereas we have relied mainly on the exploratory and excavated numismatic data for purposes of distribution, the coin evidences from excavations, the epigraphs and seals etc., have together been taken into consideration to arrive at the chronology and sequence. Coupled with this study, I have finally ventured to give a sequence and succession list of the kings and their political spheres, by reverting back to the Purāṇic and literary accounts. In this study I have been immensely benefited by the earlier writings of erudite scholars.

I have ventured in the following pages to assign afresh and reassign some of the erstwhile recorded coins and for this I have relied on typology and legends, generally incomplete. It is quite likely that at some places I may have committed mistakes, because of the obvious lacunae inherent in the numismatic evidence. Also, it is possible that I may have omitted some important new discoveries of the Sātavāhana coins.

II. Some Recent Discoveries of Sātavāhāna Coins :

In the following pages I have classified the available mass of coin data reported in journals, reviews etc., keeping in mind the ancient geographical boundaries of the Sātavāhana empire at its zenith.

After the publication of the king and type-wise list of Sātavāhana coins by DR. RAMA RAO in 1958 (*JNSI*, XX), we have again from this author two catalogues containing huge collections of coins found in coastal Andhra (*BMGM*) and Kondapur-Peddabankur, Bidar-Maski, Phanigiri and Khammammet (RAMA RAO, 1961) in Andhra Pradesh. The same scholar has also discussed briefly the importance and significance of the coin types in his Śaṅkara Pārvatī endowment lectures delivered at the Madras University in the year 1959 (*JMU*).

Although Kondapur and allied group of sites have yielded a rich harvest of Sātavāhana coins from the excavations, the reports do not give us any details of stratigraphy and almost all are a mixed up lot. Accordingly, the many surface discoveries at Hyderabad, Aurangabad, Karimnagar and Warangal may have belonged to these regions and sites.

Although the earlier excavations on a series of Buddhistic sites like Bhattiprolu, Jagayyapeta, Guntupalli, Gudivada, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda yielded a large number of Sātavāhana coins, they do not help us in reconstructing the early chronology and sequence. At the best, we can make a typological study and attempt regional distribution of these issues from Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi onwards. It may be noted at the outset that in the coastal Andhra and Southern Deccan we have no Sātavāhana coin data assignable even stylistically prior to this monarch. Same is the case with regard to epigraphical data also. This being so, in the present study, we shall depend more on the recent discoveries pertaining to this decade (1960-70) and try to assess briefly the enormous earlier notices. While doing so, stress will be laid more on the earlier group among the Sātavāhana coinage for obvious reasons. At the outset it is necessary to deal with some of the important excavations to arrive at the sequence of succession of the kings, and the Nevasa excavation alone has provided us the much needed substance. We shall, therefore, begin our analysis with this important site.

III. Sātavāhana Coins from Nevasa Excavations (Charts Appended) :

The Sātavāhana coins from Nevasa are unique in many respects. They are from a large-scale excavation obtained for the first time from well-recorded stratified contexts. They are of two metals — lead and copper. Their number is considerably large and they are rich in types as well as in variety of symbols. In fact our entire data on the Sātavāhana coins are processed with the help of the sequential table afforded by these coins. During this study, it is possible for us to assign and reassign some unidentified coins with certainty[2].

In a total of 283 coins obtained[3] from the digs, the coins attributable to the Sātavāhanas numbered about 83. Among these, some 67 coins could be clearly assigned to the individual monarchs, mainly by virtue of the legends as well as characteristic types. Some others, numbering 16, although of uncertain attribution, could be broadly assigned to a pre-Gautamīputra date[4]. Such types either bear the traces of the legend incompletely or have no preserved legends at all.

From the appended charts it will be clear that we have, very fortunately indeed, a good number of clearly assignable coins. Among the early group of kings, ten coins of Sātakarṇi I, nine coins of king Sātavāhana, twenty coins of Sātakarṇi II and a unique coin of Puḷumāvī I (in the mid-levels of period V) are most significant. The later group is represented by the powerful Gautamīputra, whose coins are 26 in number, and one copper coin of Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. As regards the stratigraphical correlation and the chronology of the coins at the site, we have to caution the reader that Trenches I, X and Y do not give us a consistent sequence[5], that being due to the fact that later coins clearly assignable to Gautamīputra come from the earliest levels of period IV in Trench Y much earlier than those yielding issues of Sātakarṇi I and king Sātavāhana. Again, it is clear that in these three trenches alone, we see that Gautamīputra's coins are found side by side with the issues of these early rulers in the upper levels of period IV. This evidence, when analysed and viewed in contrast with the coin data of Trenches A to H, at once makes it clear that Trenches I, X and Y give us an inconsistent stratigraphy which cannot be relied upon for finalising the sequence of the coins. Thus the larger coin evidence from Trenches I, X and Y is helpful only to study the typology and distribution of the early issues whereas the evidence from Trenches A to H, although meagre, affords us a correct chronological sequence (Charts I-II). As a result of this fresh study the following points may be noted :—

(1) At Nevasa Sātakarṇi I's coins preceded all the other issues. Even the Punch-marked, Tribal and die-struck coins belonged to a later horizon when compared to these issues. This evidence, coupled with the ceramic data, makes it amply clear that Sātakarṇi I should be dated not later than the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C.[6] and accordingly the theories assigning the rise of the Sātavāhana power to a later date like the 1st century B. C. or A. D. have no substance.

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(2) It is also clear from my distribution charts that the older issues continued side by side with the new issues of the successive kings.

(3) Sātakarṇi I issued a single type only, i. e. the bull to right with a triangle-headed standard in front. The reverse symbols clearly depict a very meaningful combination. Particularly the *śrīvatsa*[7], introduced for the first time, has a great significance. This, when viewed with the name of the founder king, Simuka (Śrīmukha) Sātavāhana, assumes great importance.

(4) Lastly, Sātakarṇi I seems to be the first ruler of the dynasty to issue independent coinage.

IV. King-wise Coin Types – Their Distribution :

The original study is too voluminous of which this paper is an abridgement. Owing to stringent space limitations I am forced to be brief here, and I hope to bring out the full text, substantiated with illustrations, in a separate monograph shortly.

As a result of a methodical approach, I could find an admirable correlation between the epigraphical and numismatic data and the distribution pattern of the coins with the assumed political extent of each monarch. Also, it was possible to fix up with certainty, in most of the cases, the sequence and evolution of the coin types of each individual monarch, more clearly and systematically. After this study, I could confidently make out that the coin-types of the Sātavāhana rulers followed a systematic pattern in shape, symbolism and weight standards. That a king did not give up the coin-types of his predecessor is proved beyond doubt in every case. The change was only in the legend and whenever any new issue was introduced, the type was dictated by the erstwhile regional type with the necessary adaptations, *viz*., the legend and a few distinct royal symbols. Thus the rigid local character of the Indian coinage has once again been amply demonstrated in the coinage of the Sātavāhana dynasty also.

The distribution pattern of the coinage, based on the entire available data (till 1970), *proves that the Sātavāhanas held the "Asika-Aśmaka-Mūlaka-Vidarbha" to start with, as well as to end with, and therefore we have got to think of their original home, rise, consolidation and decline somewhere within this well-knit Central Deccan.* No amount of inferential arguments based on literature and twisting of epigraphical data will help in changing this framework as regards the early Sātavāhana history. All the other territories, Avanti-Ākara-Anūpa of North India; Aparānta-Surāṣṭra-Kaccha of the West; Coastal Andhra upto Tamilnadu and Karṇāṭaka of the South were annexed or lost by the Sātavāhana kings in successive periods of their long history ranging from *c*. 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.

In the attribution of coin-types to individual monarchs, particularly the coins bearing the name Sātakarṇi and its variants, special care has been taken. Not only the palaeography of the legend is considered but also the more substantial typology, sequence, evolution of the symbolism, regional distribution, weight standards, etc. (in short a more cumulative evidence of all these) were taken together to judge the coins. Certain kings, particularly those of pre-Gautamīputra and post-Sātakarṇi II period, did not issue any fresh types and appear to have simply continued the circulation of the older issues because of the political and economic insecurity. So we find practically no coins issued after Sātakarṇi II and before Gautamīputra and even if found they are stray types like Āpilaka's and Puḷumāvi I's which were faithful copies of the older types under circulation in the same region.

We shall give below in a tabular form the king-wise coin data.

A. Coin Types of the Early *Sātavāhana* Rulers.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Siri Sātakarṇi (I)	*Single Type : Bull*	Copper/Lead	*Nevasa* (1954-56), Nos. 6657, 1799, p. 188. Copper ones, Nos. 6659, 6710, 1369, p. 179, Nos. 1195 and 942. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, VIII, Pl.II, No. 1; XIII, p. 132, Pl. V, No. 2. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, p. 181, Pl. XV, No. 1.
Siri Sātavāhana	*(i) Bull Type continued* *(ii) Elephant Type introduced*		*Nevasa*, Nos. 2186, 1175, 1981, 6490, 3640, 6863, 6544, 1810 and 4695. Kondapur, *JNSI*, XI, p. 22. Aurangabad, *BDCRI*, VI, pp. 141–42. Hyderabad, *MSI*, III, pp. 1–4, Pl. I, No. 1. Karimnagar, *Journal of Osmania University* (1968), pp. 123–35.
Sāti Siri	*Homo Type and other various multi-symbol coins closer to the earlier types of Ayodhyā, Eran, Kauśāmbī, Ujjain and Mathurā local coins.*		Western Malwa (Ujjaini), *JNSI*, IV, p. 28, Pl. II, Nos. 6 and 9; *BMC*, p. xcii, Pl. I, Nos. 1–2. Dr. Nagu's collection. Hoshangabad, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 94–97. Tripurī (Ḍāhala), *JNSI*, XIII, Pl. II, Nos. 13–14; XVI, pp. 70–71 and p. 81, Pl. II, No. 22, pp.95–96, Pl. V, No. 3; XV, pp. 180–82; *Excavations at Tripurī*, 1952, p. 10, Note 2, p. 126, Note 9. Prof. Bajpai's recent collections (*IAR*, 1967–68, p.24). Kauṇḍinyapura (Vidarbha), *Excavations at Kauṇḍinyapura* (1968), pp. 29, 134–35. Bheraghat and Tripurī bronze examples, *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 70–71 and 95–96, Pl. II, Nos. 15, 16 and 22, Pl. V, No. 3.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kauśikīputra (?)	*Elephant only. Closer to Siri Sātavāhana types.*	Copper	Hyderabad region, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 134, Pl. VI, Nos. 5–7; *MSI*, III, pp. 20–22, Pl. I, No. 6; *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 116–18, Pl. VIII, No. 1.
Siri Sātakarṇi (*II*)	*Older issues* : (*i*) *Bull*	Copper/Lead	*Neyasa*, pp. 190–91, Nos. 1114, 3223, 1880 and 6564. Paithan, *IAR*, 1965–66, p. 1–55 (cyclostyled). Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 131, Pl. VI, No. 1. Kondapur, *Rama Rao* (1961), pp. 32–33, Nos. 13–15, 20, 22–25. Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, p. 28, Pl. II, No. 4; XIII, p. 210, Pl. IX, No. 10.
	(*ii*) *Elephant*	Potin/Lead	Awra, *Journal of M. P. Itihas Parishad*, 4 (1964), p. 33. Western India, *BMC*, pp. 17–19, Pls. I, Nos. 5–7; IV, Nos. 59–61, 74–75. Karvan, *JNSI*, XII, Pl. II, Nos. 6–7. Nasik, *Sankalia and Deo*, p. 32, Pl. V, No. 3. Malwa region, *JNSI*, IV, p. 76, Pl. II, Nos. 5–6, 7; XV, p. 97. The coin (IV, Pl. II–4) has, in addition, a six-arched hill on its reverse, introduced for the first time. Balpur (South Kosala), *IAR*, 1958–59, p. 66 (with the Archaeological Survey of India, S. E. Circle, Hyderabad).
	(*iii*) *Three-arched Hill Type* : The legend is peculiarly anti-clockwise starting at IV. This coin-type is wrongly attributed to Hāla and even Vijaya Sātakarṇi by some scholars.	Copper/Lead	Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 132–33, Pl. VI, No. 4; XXI, p. 68, Pl. I, No. 5. Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Pl. 8, Nos. 93, 95; *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 55–57, Pl. I II, No. 1 (Kondapur Museum Coin Acc. No. 7692).

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Name of the King	Types	Metal	Distribution and References
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*iv*) *Six-arched Hill Type*	Copper/Lead	Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 33, No. 13. Western Malwa, *JNSI*, IV, Pl. II, No. 4.
	(*v*) *Lion Type*	Copper/Potin	*Nevasa*, p. 182, figs. 79, No. 3, 81, Nos. 6–7. Nasik, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 34, Pl. II, No. 12; *JNSI*, XIV, p. 55. Western Malwa, *BMC*, p. 4, Pl. I, Nos. 8–11; *JNSI*, IV, Pl. II, No. 8. Karvan and Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 28–29, Pl. II, Nos. 5, 9–11; *BMC*, p. 54, Nos. 206–09 and Pl. VIII, No. 209.
	(*vi*) *Lakṣmī Type* : The type recalls some of the local coins of Ujjayinī and Eran issues.	Copper/Potin	Paithan, *IAR*, 1965-66, p. 1–55 (cyclostyled) Vidiśā, *Prof. Bajpai's Collection*, 1970[8]. Kauṇḍinyapura, *Dikshit* (1968), p. 137, Pl. XL-A5. Nasik, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 33, Pl. II, No. 11.
	(*vii*) *Multi-symbol Coins* : These coins recall the Sāti Śri types and some of the local issues.	Copper/Potin	Brahmapuri, *Dikshit* (1952), pp. 34 and 41, Nos. 4139, 4108, 4140, 2288 and 2773. Vidiśā, *Prof. Bajpai's Collection*, *IAR*, 1967–68, p. 63. Kauṇḍinyapura, *Dikshit* (1968), p. 37, Pl. XI, Nos. 6–7. Pauni, Information from Dr. Deo and Shri J. P. Joshi, excavators of the site. Tripurī, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 36, Pl. II, No. 14; *XXI*, pp. 110–11; *IAR*, 1965-66, P. 1–41. Ujjain, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 214, Pl. XI, No. 20. Balpur, *IAR*, 1958–59, p. 66.
Āpilaka	*Elephant Type*	Copper	Balpur, *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII (1937–38), pp. 93n–94n.

Name of the King (1)	*Types* (2)	*Metal* (3)	*Distribution and References* (4)
Puḷumāvi I	*Three-arched Hill Type* : This is a unique type, a continuation of the issue of Sātakarṇi (II). The legend is anti-clockwise starting at IV and is only on the obverse. The type is wrongly attributed to Hāla, Sāliputasa Siri Sāta and so on.	Lead	Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 38, Pl. 7, Nos. 91-92. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 132–33, Pl. VI, No. 3; XXII, pp. 147–49, Pl. VIII, No. 10. *Nevasa*, p. 201, fig. 83, No. 6.

B. Coinage of the Time of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (III).

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (III)	*Older Issues*:		
	(*i*) *Elephant Types* : The type with the metronymic is found only in the Western and Northern regions of the empire.		*Nevasa*, pp. 185–87, 195–97, fig. 80, Nos. 1–8. Ter, *B. N. Chapekar* (Poona, 1969), pp. 18–20, fig 3. Gujarat, *JNSI*, XII, p. 27, Pl. II, No. 1. Kathiawad, *Indian Culture*, V, p. 99. Ujjain, *JNSI*, XIII, p. 21, Pl. XI, No. 11; *JNSI*, XIV, p. 6. Western India, *BMC*, pp. 17–19, Pl. IV, Nos. 59–61, 64, 74–75 and 81. Kondapur, Peddabankur and Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 146, Pl. VIII, No. 9; *ABORI*, XXII, p. 171, Pl. XV, Nos. 16–18; *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 33–39; *MSI*, III, pp. 15–16, Pl. I. Chebrolu, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 89, No. 4. Nellakondapalli, *JNSI*, XVIII, Pl. V, No. 15. Aurangabad, *JDHC*, I, p. 96. Karvan and Kamrej, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 28–29, Pl. II, Nos. 2, 3 and 8. Maheshwar, Navdatoli (1958), p. 79, *Pl. XVI*, T.57*a*.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*ii*) *Caitya Types* : These types were first introduced in the peripheral regions of the empire by Gautamīputra.		
	(*a*) *Three-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *JDHC*, II–2, pp. 87–89; *BMGM*, p. 15, Nos. 2–9. Brahmapuri, *JDHC*, *II*–2, p. 81, Nos. 7–8; *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, pp. 40–41, Pl. XV, No. 36.
	(*b*) *Six-arched*		Amaravati, *JNSI*, XVIII, Pl. V, Nos. 2–8. Nagarjunakonda, *BMGM*, pp. 15, 25, Nos. 14–20. Dharanikota, *IAR*, 1964–65, pp. 2–3.
	(*c*) *Ten-arched* : This type is a new introduction and indicates the extent of territorial gains of the king.		Amaravati, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 17–19, Pl. II, No. 18; XVIII, pp. 43–45, Pl. V, Nos. 11–14. Nagarjunakonda, *JDHC*, II–2, pp. 28–29, Nos. 18, 20 and 31; *BMGM*, pp. 16 and 25, Nos. 44–45.
	(*iii*) *Horse Types* : The type is mostly found in Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Karnataka. Gautamīputra issued this type for the first time, perhaps after the *digvijaya* (*Trisamudratōya–pītayāhana and Dakṣiṇāpathapati*).		Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, Nos. 81, 82, 98, 107, 113. Gudivada, *EWCI*, No. 12, pp. 21–31; Nos. 12, 38, 40. Brahmapuri, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 81, No. 76. Peddabankur and Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 39, Nos. 98–99. Western India, *IA*, IX, pp. 64–65, No. 9; VI, p. 275, No. 12.
	(*iv*) *Restruck Coin* : This is a unique coin of Nahapāṇa restruck by Gautamīputra and bears on the reverse the solid–branched tree, a characteristic symbol on his copper issues.	Copper	Ajmer region, *BMC*, Intro., pp. cix, 67, Pl. IX, No. 252.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*v*) *Restruck Coins*	Silver	Jogalthambi Hoard, *JBBRAS*, XXII, pp. 223–44, Pls. I–IV; for counterstriking devices, see *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 97–99.
	(*vi*) *Independent Silver Issues* :		
	(*a*) *Non-Portrait Type* : *Six-arched Caitya and Ujjain symbol.*		Ujjain, *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 111–13, Pl. VII, No. 5.
	(*b*) *Portrait Issue*		Balpur, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 107–09, Pl. VI, No. 1–1a. (South Kosala).
C. Coinage of the Post-Gautamīputra Period.			
Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (II)	*Older Issues* : (*i*) *Elephant* : All the variants of his predecessor continued to be issued, but the type from now onwards is almost standardized, i. e., Elephant on the obverse X Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The reverse has no other symbols. Hence we hold that Tarhala has no coin of Gautamīputra and the type attributed to him belongs to Sātakarṇi (IV), his descendant. For details see below.	Copper/Lead	Poona, *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 99–100, Pl. IX, No. 6. Brahmapuri, *JNSI*, XX, p. 13, Nos. 65–66. Chandravalli, *AI*, No. 4, pp. 291-93. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, p. 80, Pl. XIV. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 41, 43–48, 51. Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–84, Pl. VIII, Nos. 7–14. Chanda, *BMC*, Pl. V, p. 21, Nos. 90, 91, 93, 94; *JASB* (1893), pp. 116–17.
	(*ii*) *Horse Type*		Coastal Andhra sites, *JDHC*, *II*–2, p. 80; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 164; *BMC*, p. 26, Pl. V–G4.

Name of the King (1)	*Types* (2)	*Metal* (3)	*Distribution and References* (4)
	(*iii*) *Caitya Types* :		
	(*a*) *Three-arched*		Gudivada, Nagarjunakonda and Nelkondapalli, *BMC*, p. 20, Pl. IV, Nos. 88–89; *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 3; *BMGM*, Nos. 10–12; *IA*, IX, p. 64, Nos. 11, 12; *JNSI*, II, p. 43; XVIII, Pl. V, Nos. 9, 10, 13–14 and 16; *JDHC*, II–2, No. 6.
	(*b*) *Ten-arched*		Amaravati and Gurzala, *JDHC*, II–2, p. 83, Nos. 21, 22.
	(*iv*) *Lion Type*	Copper/Lead	Ghantasala, *IAR*, 1955–56, p. 72 (with S. E. Circle, A. S. I., Hyderabad). Amaravati, Krishna, Godavari, Gudivada, etc., *JDHC*, II–2, p. 84, Nos. 35–36; *BMC*, p. 10, Pl. III, Nos. 33, GP2, GP3; for variants, see pp. 11–12, Pl. III, Nos. 36–43, V, Nos. GP2, GP3. Dharanikota, *IAR*, 1962–63, p. 2, Pl. IV-A; 1963–64, p. 2, fig. 1.
	New Issues :		
	(*v*) *Ship Type*	Lead	Coastal Andhra upto Coromandal coast, *BMC*, pp. 22–23, Pl. V, Nos. 94–104. Amaravati, *BMGM*, p. 23, No. 219. Penumuli, *ASIAR*, 1924–25, pp. 159–61, Pls. XIV-XV.
	(*vi*) *Cakra Type*	Lead	Hyderabad, Private Collection, *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 178–79, Pl. IX, Nos. 19, 19a.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*vii*) *Silver Issues* : *Portrait Type*		Bhilsa, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 1–3. Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, p. 38, Pl. IX-B, No. 1. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa example is a clay mould piece, containing the design repertoire of the reverse of a portrait coin of Puḷumāvi. The legend is quite clear and is composed in the ancient Telugu language, more significantly in verse. The legend has 20 letters in all, forming a *padya pāda* of one of the varieties of *Ragada* metre, a *dēśī* type depending on the '*Matrā Chandas*'. The mould piece is a unique example, first of its kind.
Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi IV	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Copper/Lead	Krishna-Guntur, *BMC*, pp. 22–23, Pl. V, Nos. 174–75, 177. Chebrolu, *JNSI*, XV, p. 75, Pl. I, No. 20. Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, Pl. IX-A, Nos. 1-3. Coastal districts, *CCIM*, pp. 210–11. Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, p. 51. Peddabankur, *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57. Bidar, *JNSI*, XV, p. 76. Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 18–19; XXII, p. 116, Pl. IV. Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, pp. 83–84, Pl. VIII, Nos. 1–6. Chanda, *BMC*, pp. 43–44, Pl. VII, Nos. 171–72, 175, 177; *JASB* (1893), pp. 116–17. *Nevasa*, pp. 181–82, fig. 79, No. 1 (Copper). Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, No. 10; IX, No. 15.
	(*ii*) *Horse Type*		Cuddapah and Anantapur, *IA*, XL, p. 173; *BMC*, p. 25, Pl. V, Nos. 105–06, 111. Amaravati, *JDHC*, II–2, No. 75. Gudivada, *Rea*, pp. 21–31, Nos. 4, 10–11, 15. Kondapur, *ABORI*, XXII, Pl. XV, No. 15.

Name of the King (1)	*Types* (2)	*Metal* (3)	*Distribution and References* (4)
	(*iii*) *Lion Type*		Dharanikota, *JNSI*, XV, p. 74, Pl. I, No. 19; *BMC*, pp. 10–12, Pl. III, No. 33. Padugupadu (Nellore), *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 257–59, Pl. XI, No. 1.
	(*iv*) *Caitya* (*both three- and six-arched*) *Type*		Padugupadu, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 258. Coastal Andhra, *BMC*, Pl. V, Nos. 115–16; *BMGM*, pp. 20–23, Nos. 8–9.
	(*v*) *Sliver Issues Portrait Type*		Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, Nos. 6–7. Hyderabad (Two), *JNSI*, XXI, pp. 9–12, Pl. I-4, 4a; XXX, pp. 74–79, Pl. II, No. 15. Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, *JNSI*, XI, pp. 59–63, Pl. II, Nos. 5–6. Saurașṭra, in the cabinet of Shri S. M. Shukla of Bombay and is still unpublished (cf. *JNSI*, XXI, p. 107).
Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi (*III*)	(*i*) *Horse Type* and (*ii*) *Caitya Type*	Lead	Coastal Andhra, *Rea*, pp. 21–31, No. 4; *Elliot*, pp. 25–34, Pls. I–II, No. 7.
	(*iii*) *Elephant*		Brahmapuri, *MUJ*, p. 153; *JDHC*, II–2, p. 81, No. 63. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, pp. 55–57, Nos. 276–94. Chanda, *JASB* (1934), *Numismatic Supplement*, 318. Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 40, Pl. III, Nos. 13, 14.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Lead	Chanda, *CCIM*, p. 213, Pl. XXIII, No. 24.
			Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 40, Pl. III, Nos. 15–16.
			Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, No. 5, p. 62.
			Krishna district, *BMC*, p. 46, Pl. VII–179.
Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarni	(*i*) *Portrait Issues*	Silver	Sopara, Amreli and Baroda, *BMC*, pp. lxxxix–xc, Pl. VII, Nos. E-1, 178, JB. The coin from Sopara is found within the relic casket of the *stūpa*.
	A stray example has, however, been reported from Meerut, which shows trade influence, not political.		Besnagar, *ASIAR*, 1913–14, p. 208, Pl. IV-22.
			Tripurī, *JNSI*, XII, pp. 127–33, Pl. X, Nos. 9–10; XIII, pp. 46-52.
			Paithan, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 98–99, Pl. I-8^{9}.
	(*ii*) *Elephant Type*	Copper/Lead/ Potin	Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, Nos. 8, 11; *CAI*, Pl. XII-11.
			Gudivada, *CCIM*, pp. 212–13, Nos. 1–10; *BMC*, Pl. VII–16.
			Amaravati, *BMGM*, p. 21, Nos. 140–43; *Rea*, Nos. 55–57; *JDHC*, II-2, No. 64; *JMU*, p. 153.
			Nagarjunakonda, *IAR*, 1956–57, p. 38, Pl. LX–A.
			Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, 5, p. 62; *Excavations at Brahmapuri*, p. 40.
			Chandravalli, *AI*, No. 4, p. 291, Nos. 4–5.
			Kondapur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 296–308.
			Peddabankur and Hyderabad, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 334, Pl. III-13, 13a.
			Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 42, Pl. III, Nos. 17–21.
			Chanda, *BMC*, p. 42, Pl. VII, Nos. 165–66.
			Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, Nos. 8, *11*, 13; IX, pp. 61–65, Nos. 6, 7, 16.

Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*iii*) *Horse Type*	Lead/Potin	Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, Nos. 12, 91; *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 10; *CCIM*, p. 213, Nos. 1–4; *BMGM*, p. 20; *BMC*, pp. 12–13, 38–39, Pl. VI, Nos. 148–50. Padugupadu, *JNSI*, XXII, p. 257, Pl. XI, No. 7. Western India, *IA*, VI, p. 277, No. 9; IX, p. 63, No. 8.
	(*iv*) *Caitya Types* :	Lead/Potin	
	(*a*) *Three-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *Elliot*, pp. 25, 32, No. 6. Krishna and Godavari, *BMC*, Pl. VI, Nos. GP 4-5. Gudivada, *Rea*, No. 1. Amaravati, *JDHC*, II-2, Nos. 15–17, 23–24, 30, 32–33. Madugula, Thomas specimens, *IA*, VI, No. 5; IX, No. 17.
	(*b*) *Six-arched*		Coastal Andhra, *CAI*, Pl. XII, No. 12. Krishna and Godavari, *BMGM*, p. 15, Nos. 24, 34, 41–43. Amaravati region, *BMC*, pp. 139–40, Pl. VI, Nos. 132–35; 139–40.
	(*c*) *Ten-arched with Conch and Lotus*		Amaravati, Coastal Andhra sites, *BMGM*, p. 16, Nos. 48–50. Dharanikota (Shri K. Raghavachari's Collections).
	(*v*) *Lion Type*	Lead/Potin	Dharanikota, *JDHC*, II-2, No. 64. Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, p. 17, No. 56.
	(*vi*) *Ship Type*	Lead/Potin	Coastal Andhra, *BMGM*, p. 23, No. 223. Buddham and Vidyadharapuram, *JDHC*, II-2, Nos. 81, 83. Guntur, *MSI*, III, pp. 18–19, Pl. I, No. 15. Poona, *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 174–75, Pl. X, No. 1.
Vijaya Sātakarṇi	*Elephant Type*	Potin	Chanda and Tarhala, *MSI*, *III*, pp. 42–43, Pl. III.
Candra Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin/Lead	Coastal Andhra, *BMC*, pp. 30–33, Pl. VI, Nos. 117–119, GP-3, GP-1, 124, 126–129.

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Name of the King	*Types*	*Metal*	*Distribution and References*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	(*ii*) *Three-arched Caitya Type*		Rentala, *CAI*, Pl. XII, Nos. 13–14; *Elliot*, p. 33.
	(*iii*) *Horse Type*		Amaravati, *JNSI*, *XXII*, p. 164. Gudivada, *JDHC*, II-2, No. 9; *BMGM*, p. 15, No. 13, *Elliot*, p. 34, Pl. II-12a.
	Six-arched Hill Type	Lead	Pyna (East Godavari), *IAR*, 1957-58, p. 60. Mukhalingam, *IAR*, 1957–58, p. 64. Smith's Coin, *CCIM*, Pl. XXIII, No. 24. Thomas Collection, *IA*, IX, p. 149, Nos. 13–14.
Puḷōmavi (IV)	*Elephant Type*	Potin	Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 45, Pl. III, Nos. 31–32.
D. *Other Kings not mentioned in the Purāṇas.*			
Rudra Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin/Lead	Coastal Andhra districts, *BMC*, Pl. VII, No. 179, pp. 46–47, GP-2; *Elliot*, p. 34, No. 4; *Rea*, No. 70; *Numismatic Supplement* (1934), 318, p. 62.
	(*ii*) *Caitya Types*		Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, 5, p. 62; *MUJ*, p. 153. Khammammet, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 314-317. Kanchipuram, *IAR*, 1962–63, pp. 12–13; *JNSI*, XXIX, p. 23.
Śaka Sātakarṇi	(i) *Elephant Type*		Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, p. 92, Pl. VIII, Nos. 29–30. Brahmapuri, *BPWM*, p. 62; *MUJ*, p. 153. Peddabankur, *Rama Rao*, 1961, Nos. 301–313. Coastal Andhra (Krishna-Guntur), *BMGM*, Nos. 63–65; *BMC*, pp. 10–11.
Karṇa Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*		Tarhala, *JNSI*, II, p. 91, Pl. VIII, Nos. 26–28. Chanda, *BMC*, p. 48, Pl. VII, No. 180. Coastal Andhra (?), *BMGM*, No. 144.
Kumbha Sātakarṇi	(*i*) *Elephant Type*	Potin	Tarhala, *MSI*, III, p. 43, Pl. III, Nos. 24–25.

V. Chronology, Sequence and Historical Significance :

As a sequel to this extensive, though by no means exhaustive, study of the Sātavāhana coinage, it is considered worthwhile to bring the numismatic evidence into the historical framework of the dynasty. According to the Purāṇic lists, the first king and the founder of the dynasty was Rāya Simuka Sātavāhana, the Śrīmān of the Sātavāhana-kula. I accept *c.* 240 B. C.[10] as the initial date of this ruler and so also the beginning of the rule of the Sātavāhanas. The stratigraphical evidence of the coins at various sites like Nevasa, Nasik, Paithan, Kauṇḍinyapura, Tripurī and Pauni confirms the above date.

We have no coins of Simuka nor any inscriptions of his reign have come down to us. However, from a later record[11] we know clearly that he was the first ruler and the Purāṇas assign him a rule of 23 years, i. e., *c.* 240–217 B. C. He was succeeded by his brother, Kṛṣṇa, who is known to us from an ivory seal at Nevasa[12] and an inscription at Nasik[13] both belonging to his reign. Again I may point out here that this king, Kṛṣṇa, may have been depicted next to Mahāraṭhi Traṇakayirō in the Nāṇēghāṭ relievo figures[14]. Kṛṣṇa ruled for 18 years according to the Purāṇic lists; hence we assign him to *c.* 217–199 B. C. He was succeeded by his son, Sātakarṇi I (*c.* 199–181 B. C.), who seems to be a powerful monarch for he is described in the Nāṇēghāṭ[15] record as *vīra*, *śūra*, *apratihata-cakra* and *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. His coins, although a single type is known, occurred in the earliest deposits of period IV at Nevasa datable in no case later than the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. The same type of coins occurs in the regions of Medak (Kondapur) and Hyderabad which shows that this ruler may have annexed these regions to the Sātavāhana empire not long ago, as the few specimens indicate. It appears that Sātakarṇi (I) extended his sphere towards north, i. e. Vidarbha and countries above. Although this is purely a conjecture now, we can substantiate it from the ubiquitous coins of his immediate successors. The earliest capital city of the Sātavāhanas seems to be Pratiṣṭhāna[16] as the early coins from Paithan, Nevasa-Nasik and Aurangabad regions testify. The Purāṇas variously give 10 and 18 years of rule to this monarch. But the subsequent inscriptional evidences point out a period of gloom — queen Nāgaṁṇikā with the help of her paternal side comes to the forefront, the royal Kumāras being minors. The eldest of them appears to be Vedisiri, the rightful incumbent to the throne.

Sātakarṇi (I) Vs. Khāravela[17] :

All was not well with the ambitiously rising Sātavāhana power. The equally ambitious Mahāmēghavāhana Mahārāja Khāravela appears to have forged into the Vidarbha territory of the Sātavāhanas. In the second regnal year Khāravela sent huge armies to the west without thinking of Sātakarṇi (I) (*achitayitā Sātakaṁṇiṁ*)[18]. The armies reached Kanhabeṁṇā and stormed the city of Mūṣikanagara. It is difficult to exactly locate Mūṣikanagara, but the river Kanhabeṁṇā or Kanhavēṇa[19] appears to be a tributary of Wainganga[20] past the village of Khapa and Takalghat, and Mūṣikanagara may be somewhere in this area or slightly west of this. Again in the 4th regnal year Khāravela subdued the Bhojakas (Berar), i. e., South Vidarbha and Raṭhikas (Khandesh-Ahmadnagar). Thus is appears that Khāravela[21] checked the rising power of Sātakarṇi (I) and his allies considerably and confined them to Mūlaka (western Maharashtra), their original territory.

The Sātavāhana power thus humbled itself at the hands of Khāravela but soon emerged again. This time queen Nāgaṁṇikā, acting as a regent to her eldest son (*Kumāravarasa*) Vedisiri and with the help of Mahāraṭhis[22], retrieved the fortunes of the dynasty. She appears to have got performed on behalf of her late illustrious husband, Sātakarṇi (I), the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice earlier than the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record, which clearly mentions a *Rājasūya* and a second *Aśvamēdha* and numerous other sacrifices. The relievo-figures may have been caused to be put up during the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice. We agree with DR. KATARE (*JNSI, XVI*, p. 83) that Nāgaṁṇikā was a widow when the sacrifices listed in the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record were performed. The first sacrifices mentioned in line 5 are *Agñyādheya* and *Aṇvāraṁbhīya*. These are followed by several other minor *dānas* and sacrifices whose names are lost in lines 7 to 9. In line 10 is mentioned a *Rājasūya* followed by a second *Aśvamedha* in line 11. It is clear that this record does not mention the first *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice.

Nāgaṁṇikā had four sons. The first was Vediśrī, the eldest who succeeded to the Imperial throne. The second was Sātiśrī. The third was Mahā-Hakuśrī and the last Kumāra Sātavāhana.

We have so far no coins attributable to Vēdiśrī but the larger Nāṇeghāṭ inscription clearly shows that he was a ruling king, and a powerful ruler at that[23]. He was perhaps assisted by his two brothers, Kumāra Hakuśrī and Siri Sātavāhana at his capital. However, we have no coins of Hakuśrī and it appears that this prince remained in his brother's service[24].

But the two *rājakumāras*, Siri Sāti and Siri Sātavāhana, were the most powerful among the princes of the royal line and seem to have greatly consolidated and extended the empire, firstly under their beloved mother, Nāgaṁṇikā, and later on under the elder brother, king Vēdiśrī. Vēdiśrī appears to have put them in charge of the most important northern and eastern territories of the Sātavāhana empire with himself and his younger brother Hakuśrī at the main seat. It appears clearly that Siri Sāti and Siri Sātavāhana were vested with power to issue in their own name coinage for circulation in their respective territories. It is significant to note the distribution of their coinages in two different localities, never commingling, a numismatic evidence which speaks volumes on the Sātavāhana administration[25].

Sātiśrī was apparently in charge of Vidarbha; his city could be Mūṣikanagara on Kanhabeṁṇā, also perhaps famous as Beṇākaṭaka in later times. This prince appears to have annexed Anūpa, the prestigious Malwa (Ujjain) and Ākara (Vidiśā). His coins, a unique type by themselves, incorporated the earlier local coin symbolism and clearly depicted the dynamic spirit of this monarch who every inch justified the name Sātiśrī, i. e. Saptiśrī. Undoubtedly it was due to him that the power of the Sātavāhanas extended northwards beyond the Vindhyas. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*c.* 184–148 B. C.) may have suffered defeat at the hands of Sātiśrī and Ākara and Avanti may have been annexed to the Sātavāhana empire. His coins closely resemble those of Malwa fabric[26]. But it is quite possible that after Sātiśrī Puṣyamitra again recovered the region as Malwa was under his son[27].

On the other hand Siri Sātavāhana (*c.* 181–163 B. C.) was wielding power from the capital under the very nose of his brother king Vēdiśrī to start with at Pratiṣṭhāna, and was later in charge of Mūlaka, Asika and Aśmaka territories. He issued a coinage in close correspondence with the earlier issues of his father Sātakarṇi I. As DR. DEO has observed[28], no coin of king Sātavāhana is reported so far outside the region covered by Nevasa-Aurangabad, Hyderabad-Karimnagar-Warangal areas. That king Sātavāhana of the Nevasa issues was the ruler of these regions immediately after Sātakarṇi (I) is established beyond doubt by his coinage that soon followed in the home province. Besides issuing the Bull type of his father, he added the Elephant for the first time and this is, may it be stressed, not without significance[29]. Thus PROF. ALTEKAR's pertinent observations regarding this coin-king Kumāra Sātavāhana get established[30].

But strangely enough, we find no mention of Vēdiśrī nor of any of his three brothers in the Purāṇic lists. We can justify the non-mention of Mahā-Hakuśrī, Sātiśrī and Kumāra Sātavāhana as they were only *rājakumāras* holding charge of the provinces. The non-mention of Vēdiśrī is something inexplicable and needs to be reasoned out. A clue is, however, forthcoming. As suggested by Dr. Chattopadhyaya, we take the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists as more reliable than others for the early group of Sātavāhana kings. The *Vāyu* does not specify the regnal period for Sātakarṇi (I), the *Brahmāṇḍa* gives 18 years and the *Matsya* only 10 years. As regards his successor, the *Brahmāṇḍa* mentions Pūrṇōtsanga and assigns him 18 years of rule. The *Matsya* alone gives another name, Skandhastambhi, in between Pūrṇōtsaṅga and Sātakarṇi (II). It appears that the *Purāṇakāras* were not clear as to who succeeded King Sātakarṇi (I). The *Vāyu* does not, therefore, give even the regnal period of Sātakarṇi (I). From this we can deduce that after the 10th regnal year of Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhanakula faced distress and for 8 more years Sātakarṇi (I) ruled with uncertainty. Following this period, three of his powerful sons simultaneously ruled in various territories and the later *Purāṇakāras* got confused as to who should be shown in succession and, therefore, the *Vāyu* omits mention of these rulers, whereas the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* give the name of Pūrṇōtsaṅga and assign him 18 years[31]. This king could have well been King Vēdiśri of the inscriptions whose title was perhaps Pūrṇōtsaṅga, justly indeed.

Sātakarṇi (II) : (*c.* 163–107 *B. C.*) :

We shall now pass on to Sātakarṇi II, the most powerful king mentioned in all the Purāṇas except the *Bhāgavata* and assigned the longest rule of 56 years. As regards the coin evidence, it is not only explicit but extensive and in addition imbibed the features of the coins of the conquered territories of his time, particularly those of the local rulers of Kauśāmbī and Ujjain[32]. Of his period, we have only one inscription so far at Sanchi[33], and clearly his long rule witnessed great artistic achievements.

It is during this monarch's regime that we get the coins as far as Ahichchhatra in the north[34], Kolhapur (Brahmapuri) in the south-west, Hyderabad in Deccan and Balpur in the east. Again we get, for the first time, Sātavāhana coins in Kathiawad and Gujarat during this monarch's period and interestingly enough the troubles of the dynasty are linked with this unfortunate territory now onwards. It is surprising that we have no literary or much epigraphical data about this most powerful ruler. The ubiquitous coins of his period speak of his great prowess. They are undoubtedly masterpieces among the Sātavāhana issues. After him, the coinage virtually declined and became poorer in weight standard, depictions and artistic execution. These remarks, however, do not pertain to the silver portrait issues, a later introduction into the Sātavāhana series after the Śaka Kṣatrapas.

After Sātakarṇi (II) :

The paucity of coins attributable to this early period is due to several factors. At the outset, I regret to say that no serious and systematic attempt has been made to study the Sātavāhana coinage typologically or stylistically, particularly in such cases where the legends are partial and ill-preserved. I feel that some of the unascribable coins of the early group may fill this gap, but a detailed personal observational study is required to assign these doubtful[35] issues which are numerous in every published coin catalogue and museums containing the Sātavāhana coins. Adding to this, many coin collections are lying unreported or ill-reported with the excavators and explorers. The rulers following Sātakarṇi (II) appear to be weaklings and the Sātavāhana power was dwindling. It is also quite possible that none of these rulers was politically and economically sound enough to issue fresh coinage and continued the circulation of older issues. This is supported by the excavated evidence of Nevasa, a site situated almost in the heart of the early Sātavāhana territory.

Lambōdara has not been[36] mentioned at all by the *Vāyu* although other lists consistently assign him 18 years of rule. No coins of this king are available so far. The *Vāyu* refers only to Āpilaka (*c.* 107–95 B. C.) after Sātakarṇi (II) and assigns him 12 years of rule. We have a single coin of this ruler from Chhattisgarh region, the easternmost border of the Sātavāhana empire. After him we get straight away to Pāṭumāvi in the *Vāyu* list avoiding the kings 9 to 14 of the *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* lists. Mēghasvāti, however, finds mention after Āpilaka in all the purāṇic lists except the *Vāyu*, and RAPSON[37] has attributed one doubtful coin of lead to this monarch. This is accepted by all scholars. This coin came from coastal Andhra region. I am not convinced of the attribution and feel that the coin does not belong to the Sātavāhanas, not to talk of the early group of kings. The size, weight and type do not correspond to any of the early Sātavāhana issues. The legend, its palaeography, etc. prove it so, and no conjecture is necessary to assign this exotic specimen to an early Sātavāhana ruler. The coin may belong to some other ruler of Andhra of 1st century A. D. After Āpilaka and before Puḷumāvi (I) we have a gap in the coin evidence for a period of about 54 years, extending from *c.* 95–41 B. C. calculated backwards from the initial date of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.

Puḷumāvi (I) (*c.* 41–17 *B. C.*) :

Puḷumāvi (I) or Pāṭumāvi is referred to by all the Purāṇic lists except the *Brahmāṇḍa*. I take the *Vāyu* statement of 24 years of rule as authentic and this ruler appears to be the reviver of the Sātavāhana power, although we have presently no other data except numismatic. I have, for the first time, assigned a few coins of Three-arched Caitya type to this monarch. Following him, another powerful ruler was Nēmikṛṣṇa whose reign lasted 25 years, *c.* 17 B. C.–8 A. D. He was followed by Hāla (*c.* 8–13 A. D.), a famous king-poet whose rule lasted only five years. We have no coin of this king and two specimens attributed to this ruler have been reassigned by us to an earlier king, Puḷumāvi (I). It is quite understandable that Hāla did not issue any coin during his short rule and diverted his attention towards literature. He bequeathed a steady and peaceful empire.

Following him and till the time of Śivasvāti (*c.* 26–54 A. D.), we have no evidence of any powerful ruler and the empire weakened much as can be seen from the quick succession of kings within a short duration.

Śivasvāti finds mention in all the Purāṇas except the *Brahmāṇḍa* and ruled for 28 years, indeed a much longer time. Although no coins or inscriptions of this ruler are so far known, a study of the political conditions prior to Gautamīputra's accession provides us a glimpse of this monarch's regime.

Kṣaharāta House :

Among the foreign chiefs occupying the northern regions the Kṣaharāta house appears to have built up a strong principality in the Gujarat-Kathiawad, Ajmer and western Malwa regions as the coins of Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka[38] reveal. His successor, Nahapāna, extended his influence southwards along the Western Coast, held Aparānta and adjoining parts of Mūlaka territory, perhaps upto Vaijayantī in the Kuntala country, as the various Nasik inscriptions of his son-in-law[39] reveal. It would follow then that Nahapāna inflicted a crushing defeat on the predecessor, possibly the father of Gautamīputra, perhaps captured the Sātavāhana capital Pratiṣṭhāna (Nasik-Poona), as a result of which we find Gautamīputra addressing himself as *Beṇākaṭakasvāmī*[40] having got crowned at this new capital. In fact, the prideful claim of Gautamīputra as a *Sātavāhanakula-yaśaḥ-pratiṣṭhāpanakara* appears thus justified in every sense of the term, particularly when we see the background prior to or at the time of his coming to the throne. It took Gautamīputra a long time, say 17 years, to consolidate his power at home and then he embarked upon a huge military campaign. He recovered in his 18th regnal year the Nasik-Poona region, Aparānta and Kuntala, sent a fleet to Vaijayantī (*Sēnāye Vaijayaṁtiyē*) soon after this success, further proceeded to north[41] (Avanti and Ākara) and killed the Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, thus avenging the atrocities committed by Nahapāna on the Sātavāhana-vaṁśa earlier. He not only restruck the silver currency of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna with his royal symbols as at Jogalthambi but did not spare even the copper issues[12].

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Gautamīputra issued copper as well as silver (non-portrait) coins for Ujjain and Ākara and we find his coins in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala also. In this northerly campaign he also crushed temporarily the Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava chieftains who were holding the northern regions of Kaccha, Surāṣṭra, Kukura-Maru and Śvabhra regions at this time. Coins of Gautamīputra from Saurāṣṭra, southern Gujarat (Lāṭa) and western India corroborate the epigraphical evidence. We place his southern expedition much later, perhaps after the 24th regnal year. It was a *digvijaya* in the wake of his tremendous victories in the north. Gautamīputra performed the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice and issued the unique Horse type which was specially under circulation in coastal Andhra. After his *digvijaya* and annexation of the 10-hill territories as enumerated in a later inscription (*SI*, p. 203, ll. 2–3), he appears to have struck the 10-arched Caitya coinage, again for circulation in the newly acquired territories. Thus for the first time in their history, the Sātavāhanas extended their sway towards the long coastal belts. Prior to Gautamīputra, the illustrious Sātakarṇi (II) had perhaps the privilege of tasting the waters of the sacred Ganges but it was left to Gautamīputra to own the title *tri-samudra-tōya-pīta vāhana*. From now onwards, we get Sātavāhana coins throughout the long eastern coastal belt of Andhra, the southern Deccan and the Aparānta country. In fact, at least two (east and west), if not the third, seas remained with the Sātavāhanas till the end of the dynasty.

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Not satisfied with these achievements, it appears that Caṣṭana restruck the copper issues of Gautamīputra under circulation in Gujarat and Akota regions[15]. This appears to be in retaliation to Gautamīputra's restriking of Nahapāna's treasury. The *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* states that Gautamīputra ruled for 34 years and in fact we have inscriptional evidence (*ASWI*, IV, p. 105, No. 14) upto his 24th regnal year and quite reasonably this king may have ruled for ten more years after this Nasik record (*SI*, p. 200), although this decade proved to be most unfortunate for him.

Puḷumāvi (*II*) (*c.* 88–116 *A. D.*) :

Following the death of Gautamīputra by about 88 A. D., his eldest son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (II) succeeded to the throne. Ptolemy clearly refers to Ozene, a place in Larike as the royal residence of Tiastenes, his contemporary ruler at Baithana being Siri Polamaios. This then surely indicates that Puḷumāvi shifted to Pratiṣṭhāna, the original capital, perhaps the same as the Navanagara of the Nasik record of the year 22, sometime after Gautamīputra's death[16]. This shifting appears to have been necessitated due to the threatening[17] power of Caṣṭana now in collaboration with his young grandson Rudradāman. The ubiquitous coin issues of Puḷumāvi found in coastal Andhra, southern Deccan[48] and western coast (Aparānta), not to speak of the Aśmaka, Mūlaka and Vidarbha territories, clearly point out a drift of Sātavāhana power towards the two coastal belts. Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa specially became prominent seats and in fact Puḷumāvi appears to have consolidated these newly annexed territories under Dhānyakaṭaka; hence the title *Dhanakaṭakasāminēhi* (*ASWI*, IV, p. 111, No. 15.1.2).

Sātavāhanas appear to have lost interest in the northern territories. Coins of Puḷumāvi's period are absent in Avanti-Anūpa, Lāṭa-Surāṣṭra-Kathiawad regions. However, a few coins from Bhilsa and Tripurī reveal the hold of Puḷumāvi on the Ākara and Ḍāhala regions. Puḷumāvi was undoubtedly a ruler of great capabilities and looked to the larger interests of the Sātavāhana empire which saw an economic prosperity under him. Sea-trade appears to have gained significance as revealed by his ship type coins. Puḷumāvi, assisted by his dear younger brother,[49] had to face often the powerful Śakas, Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. He appears to have suffered defeat and as a result had to patch up with the powerful śakas to avoid further humiliation. His younger brother Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi was accordingly married to the daughter of Rudradāman[50].

Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (*c.* 116–145 *A. D.*) :

Sātakarṇi (IV) thus succeeded to the throne by force of circumstances, setting aside the main line of Puḷumāvi. The Purāṇas, therefore, do not generally mention this collateral except the *Brahmāṇḍa* which again strangely enough omits Puḷumāvi. That Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi (IV) was an imperial ruler and ruled for 29 years is clear from the evidence of coins also which were found almost throughout the vast empire like those of Puḷumāvi. In fact, he continued to issue all the types of his brother including the rare silver portrait currency. His coins have been found as far south as Nellore-Anantapur region in Andhra, Chandravalli in Mysore and Brahmapuri, Ter, etc. in southern Maharashtra.

Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi (*c.* 145–152 *A. D.*) :

Sātakarṇi (IV) was succeeded by Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi of the coins. Śivaśrī appears to be a son of Puḷumāvi (II) and not grandson as suggested by PROF. MIRASHI (*MSI*, III, p. 41). It is this king, who came in conflict with Śaka Rudradāman for the second time and about whom Rudradāman speaks that he did not destroy him because of nearness of relationship.

The coins of Śiva Śrī are found in coastal Andhra, Mūlaka and Vidarbha only. He ruled, according to the Purāṇas, for seven years only and appears to have been replaced by his cousin, Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi.

Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (*c.* 152–159 *A. D.*) :

He is the Khada Sātakarṇi of the coins as pointed out by PROF. MIRASHI (*MSI*, III, p. 42, note 1) and appears to be the son of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi. He is referred to by all the Purāṇas except the *Vāyu*. His coins, very few indeed, were found in coastal Andhra, Mūlaka-Aśmaka and Vidarbha territories. It appears from this that during this period the Śaka predominance continued unabated and Sātavāhana power was virtually reduced to the minimum although the conquered southern territories seem to have remained under the firm hold of the imperial authority.

Gautamīputra Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi (*c.* 160–189 *A. D.*) :

Luck favoured this ruler. He came to the throne soon after the power of Śaka ruler Rudradāman was no more. The Western Kṣatrapa territories were once again merged into the Sātavāhana empire under this powerful ruler, who appears to have revenged the Śakas, crippled their power for some generations[51] and captured the prestigious Ujjainī (Avanti) and Surāṣṭra again. *Thus the territories knocked away by Caṣṭana from his great grand predecessor Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi were now fully restored and perhaps Ŝaka era was now replaced virtually by a Ŝālivāhana era in the real sense of the term.*

We now find Sātavāhana coins at Sopara, Amreli, Baroda, Besnagar, Tripurī, etc. The coins and inscriptional evidence of this monarch corroborate well. His coins were found as far south as Cuddalore in Tamilnadu. He was the last powerful ruler of the Imperial Sātavāhana house and indeed an *Arka Śrī*, a *Yajña Śrī* and *Dakṣiṇāpathapati*. That this king was a staunch *bhakta* of Viṣṇu and Śrī is clear from the symbolic depictions on his coins — Caitya, Horse and Ship types which contain the *śaṅkha*, *padma*, fish and *śrīvatsa*.

Vijaya Sātakarṇi (*c.* 190–196 *A. D.*) :

Śrī Yajña was succeeded by Vijaya who ruled for six years (*EI*, XXXVI, pp. 273–74). Coins issued by him are known to us from Tarhala-Chanda hoards only, but this extreme paucity of coin data need not be taken to doubt his rule over other areas as the coins of his immediate successors indicate. But one thing is clear. The Sātavāhana rulers were losing hold over the northern territories after Yajña Śrī. The power drifted to south and east.

Candra Sātakarṇi (*c.* 196–206 *A. D.*) :

This king appears to have ruled for 10 years. An inscription dated in his 2nd regnal year came from Kodavolu near Piṭhāpuram in the Godavari district. This together with his coins from Pyna, Mukhalingam (Srikakulam) and Guntur-Krishna regions proves that this king ruled over the entire coastal Andhra. His coins are not found in any other territories.

Puḷumāvi (*IV*) (*c.* 207–215 *A. D.*) :

The coins of this king, the last of the Purāṇic list, were found only in the Tarhala hoard and we feel that this king was truly the last ruler, and the four rulers not mentioned in the Purāṇic lists but available to us from the numismatic evidence may be assigned to a later date or at best may be regarded as contemporary to this ruler.

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Others (*c.* 216–225 *A. D.*) :

Rudra and Śaka seem to have ruled over considerably big territory extending over the entire coastal Andhra region upto Kanchipuram in the south and Chanda-Tarhala and Hyderabad regions in Central Deccan.

Karṇa and Kumbha lingered as local rulers for some time to come, and their coins are known only from Vidarbha. It was now the turn of the early Pallavas in the extreme south, Ikṣvākus in Andhrāpatha, Kadambas in Karṇāṭaka, Ābhīras in Mūlaka, Śakas-Yavanas in northern territories and Vidarbha to devour slowly but steadily the Sātavāhana empire. But the tradition established by this great power continued all through the centuries.

REFERENCES

1. *ABORI*, 1968, pp. 375–377, 381. Dr. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya made some interesting suggestions. He says that the statement of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* that Andhras ruled for 460 years may include some pre-Sātavāhana rulers also, while the statement of the *Vāyu* that Andhras ruled for 272 years may specifically refer to Sātavāhanakula. It is for this reason perhaps that *Purāṇakāras*, in general, do not refer to the dynastic appellation Sātavāhana. Further, as pointed out by this scholar, the *Vayu* and the *Brahmānaḍa* lists seem to be comparatively authentic for the early rulers whereas for Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and his successors the *Matsya* account is more reliable. Also it is a fact, that the Purāṇas have left out many names of the Sātavāhana rulers, more particularly the later kings, as would be shown below.

2. Prof. S. B. Deo informs me that a large number of Sātavāhana coins were picked up from the renewed digs of 1959–61 at Nevasa. We eagerly await the publication of these coins from the renewed digs. *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 25; 1960–61, p. 21.

3. *Nevasa*, p. 161.

4. These statistics were based on the specimens mentioned in the report both illustrated and unillustrated. The charts are after figure 84. See *Nevasa*, pp. 67–70.

5. It is also to be noted that the Trenches I, X, Y, yielded a lot of mixed evidence possibly due to their location at the lower contours of the mound. We draw the attention of the reader to the contour map. See *ibid.*, fig. 3, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Further, we feel that the date of the early historical period IV (150–50 B. C.) needs a revision on the earlier side by about 100 years at least. In the earlier digs (1954-56), the sequence was dated by relative method whereas the C-14 dates now available for periods IV and V of Nevasa pertained to the later digs of 1959-61. Even here there is no C-14 date for the early levels of Period IV as such, and all the dates belong to the upper levels of Period IV onwards to Period V. Cf. *Radio Carbon*, No. 1 (1959), p. 183; No. 5, TF. 38, 39, 41. [For a different view about the date of Period IV, see *infra* I : 8-Ed.].

7. I. Karthikeya Sarma, "The names 'Sātavāhana', 'Satakarṇi' and the Significance of the 'Śrīvatsa' Symbol on the Sātavāhana Coinage", paper submitted to the 59th Annual Session of the Numismatic Society of India (Nagpur, 1970).

8. [Vide I : 2 above-Ed.].

9. [For a silver coin of Yajña Sātakarṇi from Meerut, see I : 2 above-Ed.].

10. The chronology is adopted from *CHI*, II, pp. 301 ff., with minor deviations. For the latest summary on the initial date of the Sātavāhanas, see *JNSI*, XXIX, pp. 1–4, Note 1. For the Purāṇic lists refer to *BMC*, Introduction, pp. lxvi–lxvii. [For another view on this problem, vide I : 8 below-Ed.].

11. Nāṇeghāṭ Cave figure label inscriptions of the time of Nāgaṁnikā-Vedisiri, *SI*, pp. 190—192, No. 76, Pl. XXXIII, No. 1. It may clearly be stated that we do not subscribe to the view of Prof. Mirashi that the coins of king Sātavāhana belong to the founder of the dynasty who preceded the Purāṇic king No. 1 – Simuka. *MSI*, III, pp. 6–11. From the above label inscriptions it is clear that Simuka — Śrīmukha was the personal name of the king and he was a Śrīmān of the Sātavāhanakula. The family name was Sātavāhana, mentioned specifically in his case only in the relievo label inscriptions, with the express intention perhaps to indicate that he was the first independent ruler of the dynasty, a real Śrīmān of the family.

12. *Nevasa*, fig. 171, Nos. 1 and 4. From Trench E, layer 9. The early Sātavāhana royal symbols like *svastika*, *śrivatsa*, *triratna* and triangle-headed standard are most significant, and this unique seal of ivory from the early levels of period IV amply confirms the date of the beginning of the Sātavāhana power in the second half of 3rd century B. C. Further, as could be seen from our fresh classification, the seal of ivory from Nevasa is certainly earlier than the coins of King Sātavāhana and may have been in continuous use during the time of his son and successor Sātakarṇi I.

13. *ASWI*, IV, p. 98, No. 1, Pl. li. It may be noted that the record ends with the Imperial symbols *svastika* and *triratna*.

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14. It was Dr. Gopalachari who tried to identify the two destroyed statues after No. 3 (*CHI*, II, p. 302, note 1). Dr. Sircar also pointed out that two of the eight label inscriptions and figures are totally lost and "that Kṛṣṇa may have been actually mentioned in one of them". Cf. *Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 197–98, note 1. Our study confirms the above views with a little amendation. The order accordingly would be :—

(1) *Rāya Simuka-Sātavāhano Sirimāto.*

(2) *Devi Nāyanikāya Raño ca Siri Sātakaṇinō.*

The position of the figures of queen Nāgaṁṇikā and King Sātakarṇi made some scholars to speculate much on the relationship of Nāgaṁṇikā to Sātakarṇi and even Simuka (*JNSI*, XIII, p. 39; XVI, pp. 77–85 and *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 71 ff).

(3) Above the figure, the label is read as *Kumāro Bhā....ya.* On a comparison of the published plate in *ASWI*, V, Pl. LI and the illustration in *SI*, Pl. XXXIII, we feel that the latter is a reliable copy of the original inscriptions on the cave walls. In particular in the label inscription No. 3, the letter following *Kumarō*, appears to read *Ve* or *Vi*, not *Bhā* as read by many scholars. The lower part is not angular but looped and hence we feel that the letter is *va* and the missing letters may thus be read in full as '*Kumāra-vara-Vedasiriya*' or *Kumāro Ve (dasiri) ya.* Thus this figure belongs to Vediśrī.

(4) *Mahārathi Traṇakayirō* : Queen Nāyanikā's father and maternal grandfather of Kumāra Vēdiśrī, the minor prince, heir apparent to the throne. The mention of Mahārathi Traṇakayirō has thus a great significance because of the fact that during the troublesome days of Sātakarṇi I during which time perhaps the latter lost his life, Nāgaṁṇikā sought her father's help in restoring family fortunes. These cave records and figures belong to that period and quite appropriately and necessarily the name of Mahārathi was mentioned first, after the king-designate Vēdiśrī.

(5) The figure is lost and we conjecture that the figure of Kṛṣṇa, the father of Sātakarṇi (I), was carved and perhaps he was also no more at this time.

(6) This is also a lost figure. We bring here the name of *Kumāra Sāti Siri*, another son of Nāgaṁṇikā, also mentioned in the larger Nāṇēghāṭ inscription, *Satinō Sirimatasa ca mātuya* (*SI*, p. 194).

(7) *Kumāro Hakusiri* is wrongly equated to *Sāti Sirimata* (*SI*, p. 197, note 1). We may point out that in line 4 of the larger Nāṇēghāṭ inscription we have after *Satinō Sirimatasa ca mātuya* clearly three letters....., '*Kumāro* –, and quite reasonably the names of Haku Śrī and Kumāra Sātavāhana were also mentioned in the record which is unfortunately badly damaged here beyond repair. See *SI*, Pl. XXXIII, Part II.

(8) *Kumāro Sātavāhano* : The form is clearly *Sātavāhano as well as Sādavāhano*, as in the Nasik record of Kṛṣṇa. Cf. *Sādavāhanakulē Kaṇhē Rājini* (*EI*, VIII, p. 93, Pl. VI.22).

15. *EHD*, p. 77.

16. D. C. Sircar in *JNSI*, III, p. 88.

17. We accept the date of Khāravela in the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. as discussed in *CHI*, II, pp. 112–13.

18. Note the expression '*Sātakaṁṇi*'. Significantly the coin legend on the Pauni find reads likewise.

19. Prof. Mirashi identifies it with the river Kanhan, a tributary of the Wainganga. *JNSI*, III, pp. 64–66. This city near Kaṇhabeṁṇā may not be the capital but a prominent city of the Sātavāhanas in Vidarbha.

20. We are now in a position to say this because of the discovery of a great Buddhistic centre at Pauni (1968–70), which yielded considerable number of Sātavāhana coins in 2nd century B. C. levels. Among these a few copper issues belong to Sātakarṇi I and II. The coins are under study by the excavators. Prof. Mirashi and Sircar, basing on the slender evidence of Tarhala hoard, vigorously argued for and against the Berar home of the Sātavāhanas (*JNSI*, II, pp. 83–94). In fact there is no coin of even Gautamīputra in this hoard and all belonged to later rulers like the Chanda hoard. [Only one coin of Sātakarṇi I has been found at Pauni. See my section on coins in the *Pauni Excavatians* – Ed.].

21. It may be noted that Khāravela, after securing the Vidarbha region, moved downwards south along the east and occupied Pitundra (Maisolas), and it appears that coastal Andhra regions were under the Kaliṅga kings quite for some time, i. e. till the time of Gautamīputra. Dr. Subrahmanyam recently reported from Guntupalli a record of a Cēdi Mahāmēghavāhana ruler. Cf. *The Guntupalli Brahmi Inscription of Kharavela*, A. P. Govt. Epigraphical Series, No. 3 (1968), pp. 1–3.

22. Firstly this is borne out by the fact that among the Nāṇeghaṭ relievo figures, Mahārathi Traṇakayirō preceded the king's father, Rājan Kṛṣṇa, who was no more and secondly it is clear that Khāravela worsted the Bhojakas and Mahārathis too. It is, therefore, quite likely that all the aggrieved joined together, revenged on the Cēdi king and got back the lost territories. This was befittingly commemorated by the performance of an *Aśvamēdha* and the relievo figures perhaps belonged to this period, i.e. slightly earlier than the larger Nāṇeghāṭ record which enumerates many other sacrifices when Vēdiśrī was the ruler. *SI*, pp. 192–95.

23. *SI*, p. 193. The record was put up in the reign of *Kumāravara Vēdisiri*. The date portion after this is lost in line 1. Again in line 6 after *Rāyasa*, it could only be filled as *Vēdisiri*.

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24. We have an interesting record in the Nasik cave (*EI*, VIII, p. 91), which mentions the building of a *Caityagṛha* by a daughter of Mahā-Hakuśrī, daughter of royal officer (Rāyamaca). This shows that the line of Hakuśrī remained in the Imperial service.

25. The princes of the royal blood were styled as *Kumāras* and, like the Mauryas, they were appointed as viceroys (provincial governors). Perhaps some of them were vested with unfettered authority so far as their provinces were concerned. *CHI*, II, pp. 28 and 316.

26. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 532.

27. *CHI*, II, p. 98.

28. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 145.

29. Dr. Subrahmanyam points out that Elephant represents Kaliṅga and says that its adoption as the main symbol on the coins of King Sātavāhana proclaims victory over the Kaliṅga ruler Khāravela. *JOU*, Part 2, p. 130.

30. *EHD*, II, pp. 789–90.

31. This is only a presumption. It may also be noted that the *Matsya* gives another king, Skandhastambhi, after Pūrṇotsaṅga and assigns him a rule of 18 years. We have no evidence for this king anywhere. Are we to take these 36 years of rule as of Vēdisiri along with his brothers Sātiśrī and Siri Sātavāhana ? There is nothing improbable.

32. J. Allan, *CCAI*, Pl. XXXVI, Nos. 6–16.

33. Bhilsa Inscription, *MASI*, No. I, pp. 5, 21; *EI*, II, p. 88.

34. [No coin of Sātakarṇi II has been found at Ahicchatrā-Ed.].

35. At Nevasa itself our study has shown that several coins of early group could not be properly assigned. See Charts. Also *Rama Rao*, 1961. Many coins of this catalogue are early but too difficult to make out as the illustrations are deplorably bad.

36. Strangely enough, Dr. Gopalachari takes Lambodara as the issuer of Śrī Sātavāhana coins. *CHI*, II, p. 304.

37. *BMC*, pp. lxxvii, 28, Pl. V–GP5; *JNSI*, XXII, p. 163.

38. *BMC*, p. 63, Pl. IX. Nos. 237-42; *CHI*, II, pp. 273–79.

39. *SI*, pp. 164–68; *CHI*, II, p. 279.

40. It is quite reasonable to hold that Beṇākaṭaka was in Vidarbha (*JNSI*, III. pp. 65–66). The actual city may be Mūṣikanagara which was earlier a provincial head-quarter under the Sātavāhanas and became capital due to the Kṣaharāta onslaught over the traditional Pratiṣṭhāna.

41. *The Periplus* states that Nambanus inherited western Malwa. Again it is stated that Nahapāna was ruling over Barygaza when Kalyana was blockaded by Saraganes (Sātakarṇi). Cf. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kanishka I and the Deccan* (Calcutta, 1968), p. 30.

42. *BMC*, Intro., cix. Pl. IX, p. 67, No. 252.

43. *CHI*, II, p. 807. His coins from Junagadh, Pushkar, Ajmer regions. See *BMC*, Intro., pp. cxv, 72, Pl. X, No. xli, 259. As a Mahākṣatrapa both silver and copper issues, *BMC*, p 74, Pl. X, Nos. 262, 264.

44. See the Kutch Museum inscription dated in the year 11 of Caṣṭana recently discovered at Bhuj (*IAR*, 1967–68, p. 52) and edited by Dr. Shobhana Gokhale. This inscription sets at rest the speculations about the foundation of the Śaka era by a royal house other than the Śakas. Also this most important record helps us to arrive at a firm date for the Sātavāhanas from the time of Gautamīputra. Caṣṭana made his son Kṣatrapa Jayadāman a viceroy of the Junagadh-Pushkar-Ajmer regions (*BMC*, pp. cxii, 76–77, Pl. X, Nos. 265-67, 269) after his capture of Ujjainī. Jayadāman died prematurely.

45. *JNSI*, XV, pp. 77–78, Pl. I, Nos. 10–11. Dr. Trivedi conjecturally attributes the original striking to Puḷumāvi (II).

46. *ASWI*, IV, p. III, Nasik, No. 15.

47. Caṣṭana appears to have been closer to Nasik (Ptolemy's Larike), and this may have forced Puḷumāvi (II) to shift to the original capital sometime later in his reign.

48. The coins clearly indicate that the last Andhra king of the Purāṇic list, Puḷumāvi (IV), did not extend his sway over the coastal Andhra or Karṇāṭaka, nor anywhere in the North. The coins bearing the name of Puḷumāvi found in large numbers at the sites in coastal Andhra including Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Karṇāṭaka region and the *inscription of Jungligunḍu referring to the 8th regnal year of Puḷumāvi should be attributed to this early monarch, not the last ruler of that name as taken by Dr. Sukthankar, D. C. Sircar and others* (*EI*, XIV, p. 155; *SI*, pp. 212–13). It appears, therefore, clearly that after Candra the Sātavāhanas lost their hold everywhere and their dominions were restricted to the Vidarbha region only.

49. Rudradāman appears to have been, during his long rule, in conflict with two Sātakarṇis. The first one was perhaps Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi, the brother of Puḷumāvi (II). This relates to the earlier conflict when Rudradāman was a Kṣatrapa under his grandfather. This ended perhaps in a temporary setback to Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi who acted under his brother's command. A sort of patching up was made between the two royal houses by a marriage alliance (Rudradāman's daughter was married to Sātakarṇi), and soon Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi came to the imperial throne (*SI*, p. 178; *EI*, VIII, p. 44, l.12.).

50. Kanheri inscription, *ASWI*, V, p. 78. This monarch appears to be the same as that mentioned in a Nāṇeghāṭ inscription. *CHI*, II, p. 322, note 1.

51. After Rudradamān's Śaka year 72 till the time of Rudrasiṁha I, Śaka year 103 (Gunda inscription), the Śaka power declined. *BMC*, Intro., pp. cxxiii–iv, 86–87.

* * * *

CHART I

NEVASA EXCAVATIONS (1954–1956)

STRATIGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS AND CORRELATION OF COINS

Correlation of Trenches and Layers	*Attribution of Sātavāhana Coins*						*Other Coins*			
	Siri Sātakarṇi	*Sātavāhana*	*Sātakarṇi II*	*Puḷumāvi I*	*Unascribed (but early)*	*Gautāmīputra Sātakarṇi*	*Tribal*	*P. M. C.*	*Bullae*	*Viṣṇukuṇḍins*
A to H, Layer-2.	..	..	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. D), No. 1114.	..	..	2-Copper/Circular No. 825 (Tr. A) and Tr E. 1-Same (Tr. F), No. 669, 2-Copper/Circular Nos. 1754,3597 (Tr. H).	..	..	1–Lead No.902 (Tr. D).	1–Copper/Circular Lion No.855 (Tr. C).
A to H, Layer-3.	..	..	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. G), No. 3223, p. 191.	..	3-Copper/Circular Nos. 1420,1579,1224 (Tr. C). 1–Lead/Circular No. 3136 (Tr. C).	6–Copper/Circular Elephant Nos. 1443 (Tr. C), 1398, 1189 (Tr. D), 2593, 2691 + one (Tr. E). 1–Copper/Circular No. 1462 (Tr. D). (*Vāsiṣṭhiputra Sātakarṇi*)	..	..	..	1–Copper/Circular Lion (Tr. G), No. 1545.
A to H, Layer-4.	..	..	..	1–Lead/Circular Three–arched hill (Tr. E), No. 4106	1–Lead/Circular Elephant No. 1968 (Tr. C). 1-Copper (Tr. C.), No.1800.	7– Copper/Circular, Elephant Nos. 3416, 3199 + 1 (Tr. E), 2287, 1708 A (Tr.B), 4306(Tr.G),3910(Tr.H).	1-Copper/Tribal Sq. Ujjain No. 4363.	1–Copper/Sq. No.4012(Tr. E).	1–Gold/Circular Bullae, No.1890.	..
A to H (*except C*), Layer-5.	..	..	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. D), No. 1880.	..	1-Copper/Sq. Elephant (Tr. C), No. 2226.	..	..	..	..	..
A, E, F to H, Layer-6.	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. F), No. 6657.	..	..	..	..	..	1-Copper/Sq. Ujjain No. 5287 (Tr. F).	..	..	..
E, F and H, Layer-7.	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. F), No. 6659.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A, G–7, B, D–6, E, F, H–8.	1–Copper/Sq. (Tr. F) Bull No. 1799.	2–Copper/Circular Elephant. Nos. 6863, 6544 (Tr. F, H). 1–Lead/Circular No. 6490 (Tr. E).	1–Copper/Sq. Bull (Tr. F), No. 6564.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C-6, A–G-8, B, D-7, E, F, H-9.	1–Copper/Sq. Bull p. 188 (Tr. E). 1–Ivory Seal, p. 202 (Tr. E).	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C-7, B, D-8, A, G-9, E-10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C-8, A, G-10, E-9, E-11.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
C-9, E-12.	1–Lead/Circular Bull (Tr. E), No. 6710.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	5 + 1 (Seal of Kaṇha)	3	4	1	7	18 + 1 of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi	2	1	2	2

After *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, Fig. 84.

OINS

	Other Issues	
Gautamīputra	Tribal	Others
–Copper / Round, lephant, No. 1951, . 185 (Tr. Y).	..	..
..	1-Copper/Sq., Ujjain, No. 4375, p. 166 (Tr. Y.).	..
1–Copper/Circular, Elephant, No. 1194, Tr. Y). 1–Lead / Circular,/Ele- hant, No. 3486(Tr.Y), ig. 82, No. 7, p. 199. –Copper/Circular, Ele- hant (Tr. X), No. 1573.	1–Copper/Sq., Eran, No. 1252 (Tr. I).	1–Copper/Sq., P.M.C. (Silver Coated No. 2849). THY.
Copper / Circular, ephant, Nos. 138, 41, 1952 (Tr. Y).	..	1–Lead/Circular, Viṣṇukuṇḍin, No. 804 (Tr. X). 2–Copper/Sq., Cast Uninscribed, Nos. 2135, 2353 (Tr. T).
-Copper/Circular, lephant, No. 4997 Tr. Y).	..	..
8	2	4

I : 8

THE EPOCH OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA RULE : A RE-APPRAISAL

By

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

1. The date of the commencement of the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan forms one of the most debated and yet unsettled problems of ancient Indian history. While some historians are inclined to place this event sometime in the latter half of the third century B. C. soon after Aśoka[1], others relegate it to about the middle or the latter half of the first century B. C.[2] Still others divide the Sātavāhana history into two phases placing the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the third century B. C. and the supposed restoration of the allegedly lost independent status of the dynasty under Simuka in the latter half of the first century B. C.[3]

2. The main reason for such widely divergent opinions on the question lies in the fact that the Purāṇas make conflicting statements as regards the total number of what they style the Andhra or Andhra–jātīya kings and the period of their total rule. Thus, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* make the general statement that there were thirty kings[4], but the number of names actually given by them ranges between seventeen and twenty-five[5]. The *Matsya Purāṇa*, on the other hand, gives the total number of kings as nineteen[6], but some manuscripts of the work actually name thirty, while the names found in other manuscripts vary between twenty-one and twenty-eight[7]. Similar is the case with regard to the total duration of their rule. Most of the Purāṇas dealing with the subject agree that the Andhra kings ruled for a period of over four centuries, though the actual figures supplied by them differ from one another by a few years[8]. According to another tradition recorded in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, however, the Andhras ruled for three hundred years[9]. As against this, the total of the years assigned to individual reigns is 448½ according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* and 272½ according to the *Vāyu*[10]. It follows from this that there were two different traditions on these points : according to one of them there were altogether some thirty rulers the duration of whose reigns covered over four centuries while according to the other tradition there were about nineteen kings with some three centuries or a little less as the total length of their rule. Considering the fact that the Sātavāhana rule came to an end about the close of the second or early in the third century A. D., the champions of the first tradition date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the latter half of the third or about the commencement of the following century B. C. Those who rely on the second tradition place this event sometime in the first century B. C. However, while there exists such a wide divergence in the Purāṇic traditions regarding the total number and duration of the rule of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas, all the Purāṇas without a single exception are unanimous about another tradition according to which Simuka[11], the first in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings,

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obtained the earth by overthrowing the last Kāṇvāyana ruler, Suśarman[12]. The second view about the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule has precedence over the other opinion inasmuch as it is in conformity with this unanimous tradition.

3. In view of the disagreement among the Purāṇas, scholars have approached the problem from some other angles. Mention must in this connection be made of the Naneghat larger sacrificial inscription of Nāyanikā; widowed queen of Sātakarṇi I, the third Andhra–Sātavāhana king according to the Purāṇas, and the shorter label inscriptions[13]. BUHLER[14] and, following him, some other scholars[15] are inclined to assign these records to the first half of the second century B. C. on palaeographical grounds. The statement of the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela that the Kaliṅga king despatched an army to the West without caring for Sātakarṇi[16] has also been taken to support this early date of the Naneghat inscriptions. The Sātakarṇi of the former epigraph is generally identified with the first Sātavāhana king of that name and the inscription of Khāravela is also placed as early as the other records[17] on grounds of supposed references therein to the 165th year of the Muriya-kāla[18] and the 103rd year after Nandarāja[19]. Others contest it stoutly, place these records not much earlier than the end of the first century B. C., dispute any allusion to the Maurya era and interpret the relevant expression, *viz.*, *Nandarāja-ti-vasa-sata*, as referring to three hundred years since the Nanda king[20]. It is worth mentioning in this connection that even BUHLER, who placed the Naneghat record in the first half of the second century B. C., observed that 'the characters of the Naneghat inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi I and his son Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi'[21]. He further emphasises the point by stating that 'the differences between the characters of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi's and those of the Nanaghat documents are such that it is not possible to place them at a distance of more than about 100 years'[22]. He could place the Naneghat inscriptions as also the Nasik epigraph of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa)[23], the second king of the Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty according to the Purāṇas, in the first half of the second century B. C. because he believed that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi lived a little earlier than the middle of the following century before Christ[24]. But now that Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is almost unanimously believed to have flourished in the first half of the second century A. D., the Naneghat documents should, following BUHLER's suggestion, be naturally placed about the beginning of the Christian era, in any case, not prior to the middle of the first century before Christ, a date which would agree with the unanimous Purāṇic tradition that the last Kāṇvāyana king, Suśarman, was overthrown by the first Andhra-Sātavāhana ruler, Simuka. It is also noteworthy in the present context that BUHLER did not believe that the Andhra–Sātavāhanas ruled for over four centuries. 'Nor is there', he avers, 'any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi'[25]. However, those who place the event of the coming of the Sātavāhanas to power in the latter half of the third century B. C. connive at BUHLER's verdict regarding the palaeographical differences between the Naneghat inscriptions on the one hand and Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi's records on the other and the interval of time warranted by them obviously because it is inconvenient to them and continue to place the two sets of epigraphs at a distance of over three centuries.

Moreover, it must be remembered that palaeographic evidence, though of some help in the absence of other evidences, is not very reliable in fixing exact dates or even a period within narrow limits of inscriptions. In some cases dates fixed exclusively on palaeographical grounds have been proved to be wide off the mark not merely by decades but by centuries. Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas[26] and Somavaṁśīs[27], for example, which were placed by earlier epigraphists like BUHLER and

Fleet about 800 A. D., have now been proved to belong to dates centuries earlier. The same is the case with the Sagar inscription of Vāparājadeva, the first known Kalacuri king of Tripurī[28].

4. An important evidence for dating the initial period of the Sātavāhana rule has been afforded by the stratigraphy of the recent extensive archaeological excavations at Nevasa situated on the river Pravarā, a tributary of the Godāvarī, in the Ahmadnagar district of the Maharashtra State. These diggings have brought to light six periods of human habitation the last three of which belong to the historical period. The last one is the Muslim-Maratha period which does not concern us in the present inquiry. Period IV styled Early Historical and Period V designated Indo-Roman or Late Early Historical, however, have an important bearing on the problem under study. Period IV has yielded, among other things, coins of two early Sātavāhana rulers, Siri Sātakarṇi and Sātavāhana, while the finds of Period V include the coins of the later Sātavāhanas. Therefore, the determination of the chronological limits of these periods, particularly of Period IV, will go a long way in solving the perplexing riddle shrouding the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule. Period IV was characterised by the use of iron, black-and-red ware, the coarse red and a sprinkling of Northern Black Polished Ware. This, coupled with the coins of the early Sātavāhanas found in the various layers of this Period, has led the excavators to date its beginning to the first half of the second century B. C.[29]. As regards the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV, the excavators first dated it in *circa* 50 B. C. but revised it later bringing it down to the beginning of the Christian era[30]. The cultural equipment of Period V included the Red Polished Wares such as Megarian-like, the Rouletted ware, the amphorae and the criss-cross painted Andhra ware and the coins of the later Sātavāhanas such as Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi. It has been pointed out by the excavators that at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh the Rouletted ware has been dated from *c.* first century B. C. to the first-second century A. D. and at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli from the first to the third century A. D. The amphorae have been assigned to *c.* first century B. C. at Taxila and *c.* first century A. D. at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like is also assignable to the same period. The Andhra painted ware from Nevasa is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri and may not be earlier than the first century A. D. On these grounds Period V has been sought to be assigned to *c.* first century B. C. — second–third century A. D.[31]

However, a close examination of the relevant data leads one to question the above dating. None of the evidences relied upon by the excavators can form a firm base for dating these periods within well-defined chronological limits. As admitted by Dr. Sankalia, the NBP in the Deccan cannot be dated as early as in the north (5th–4th centuries B. C.) and its date in the former region can be determined only on the basis of the circumstantial evidence of associated finds like coins. It must be remembered in this connection that NBP ware sherds have been reported even from the topmost layers of Period IV which, according to the excavators themselves, can in no way be placed much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era[32]. The silver-plated copper punch-marked coin also comes from the upper-most layers of this period[33] and consequently cannot be dated much earlier than the beginning of the first century A. D. Dr. Deo, who has contributed a large section on coins to the Report, seems to have employed the coins of the early Sātavāhana rulers found in the various strata of Period IV as a double-edged weapon for fixing the date of the Period on the one hand and the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule on the other. Thus, on the one hand we are told that 'the set of five coins bearing the legend Siri Sātavāhana and coming from layers earlier than those giving the coins of Gautamīputra are new and help in assigning the layers of period IV to about the second century B. C'.[34] It is argued on the other hand that "their (of the coins of Sātavāhana)

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association with the antiquities of pre-Red Polished ware horizons supports their dating to about the 2nd century B. C. In view of this new evidence", it is added, "it may not be incorrect to push back the origin of the Sātavāhanas to 3rd-2nd century B. C. rather than to assign them to 1st century B. C. as some scholars try to advocate"[35]. The reasoning behind these arguments is quite unintelligible. First, when the epoch of the Sātavāhana power itself is the bone of contention, the occurrence of Sātavāhana coins of uncertain dates cannot be pressed into service for dating the layers in question. Secondly, the dates of the Sātavāhana kings whose coins are met with in stratified excavations must be fixed on the basis of the layers proper wherein they have been recovered and not on that of the general cultural period to which the coin-yielding layers belong. Now, all the coins of king Sātavāhana are encountered in the uppermost strata of Period IV which the excavators themselves do not assign to a date much earlier than the first century A. D.[36] Moreover, it is also not quite correct to aver that these coins came from the pre-Red Polished ware layers. A glance at the chart explaining the concordance and correlation of the layers at Nevasa would reveal that coins of king Sātavāhana have been reported from layer No. 3 of Trenches I, X and Y and layer 8 of Trench E which are co-eval with layer 5 of Trench C which has yielded Red Polished wares like the amphorae and the Megarian-like. Then again amphorae are encountered in layer 4 of Trench Y which underlies the layer yielding coins of king Sātavāhana[37]. And as we have already seen, Red Polished ware continued to be used for some three centuries after Christ. It would thus follow that nothing found in the layers of Period IV supports the 3rd-2nd century B. C. epoch theory. Further, there is reason to believe that the *terminus ad quem* of Period IV and the *terminus a quo* of the following period lie not about 50 B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century A. D. as contended by the excavators but considerably later. The Red Polished ware having been current for three or four centuries A. D., it cannot be relied upon for dating Period V within closer limits. The only firm base for determining the chronological limits of this period is furnished by the late Sātavāhana coins on the one hand and the coins doubtfully described as Pallava coins on the other[38]. As regards the upper limit, coins of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Srī Yajña Sātakarṇi would seem to place it not much earlier than the early second century A. D. The coins doubtfully designated as Pallava really belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins a large number of whose coins has been reported from various ancient sites in Maharashtra. Three such coins from Paunar in the Wardha district were published and for the first time attributed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins by the present author[39] and this attribution has been followed by DRS. DEO and DHAVALIKAR in their report on Paunar excavations while reporting the discovery of a large hoard of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins[40]. Now, the rise of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins cannot be placed earlier than the fifth century A. D., and the discovery of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins in the topmost layers of Period V would naturally lead one to date the *terminus ad quem* of this period about late fifth-early sixth century A. D. We would thus propose to date Period V between the second and fifth-sixth centuries A. D. Conversely, the chronological limits of Period IV will also have to be brought down by about a century and may be placed between late first century B. C. or early first century A. D. and early second century A. D. And consequently the discovery of early Sātavāhana coins in the layers of Period IV would only lend support to the theory that the Sātavāhanas rose to power sometime in the latter half of the first century B. C.[41]

5. The evidence of Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* also deserves to be studied from this point of view. It is admitted on all hands that the play is based on historical events. According to an episode narrated in it, Vidarbha rose to the status of an independent kingdom under Yajñasena, a close relation of the minister of the last Maurya king, who was on hostile terms with the Śuṅga upstart Puṣyamitra (*c.* 187–151 B. C.) and his son Agnimitra. Mādhavasena, a friend of Agnimitra and a

cousin of Yajñasena, was arrested by an officer (*antapāla* or protector of frontiers) of Yaijñasena while going to Vidiśā, Agnimitra's headquarters. When asked by Agnimitra to release him, Yajñasena insisted on the prior release of the Maurya minister by Agnimitra who, being enraged thereupon, sent his brother-in-law Vīrasena on an expedition against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and Mādhavasena released. The kingdom of Vidarbha was partitioned between Yajñasena and Mādhavasena both of whom accepted Puṣyamitra's suzerainty. It would thus follow that during the time of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga Vidarbha was at first an independent kingdom and later divided into two dependencies ruled over by Yajñasena and his cousin Mādhavasena under Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's hegemony. Recently two potin coins attributed to Sātakarṇi I on typological grounds have been reported from Pauni, an ancient site in the Bhandara district of Vidarbha. One of them is a surface find and the other was recovered in course of archaeological excavations[42]. These coins being of base metal, there is little likelihood of their having come to Pauni from some distant locality. The discovery of these coins, therefore, seems to suggest that the Vidarbha region formed part of Sātakarṇi I's dominions. According to those scholars who date the rise of the Sātavāhana power in the second half of the third century B. C. Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and Sātakarṇi I were either contemporaries or the latter flourished somewhat earlier than the former[43]. In case the latter view is accepted, the non-mention of Sātakarṇi by Kālidāsa in connection with Vidarbha will have to be accounted for. In the time of Puṣyamitra, Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with Vidarbha which was ruled over by Yajñasena and Mādhavasena under Puṣyamitra's suzerainty. In fact, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* gives the impression that Vidarbha came under the possession of Yajñasena immediately after the collapse of the Maurya empire. And if the former view is conceded, one will have to reconcile the rule of Sātakarṇi I with that of Yajñasena and Mādhavasena over the same region about the same time, which is ridiculous. It would thus appear that the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitra* also supports the first century B. C. epoch theory.

6. Consideration of the evolution of legends on early Indian coins also leads us to the same conclusion. There is some difference of opinion on this question. The earliest Indian coins, those known as punch-marked coins and some cast pieces, are uninscribed. Legends began to appear on Indian coins at a comparatively late phase in the history of Indian numismatics. According to some scholars, this represents an indigenous development while others hold that this was a result of the impact of the coins of the Greek rulers of India[44]. We are of the opinion that while legends on Indian coins may have begun to appear as a result of the gradual development of the technique of minting, the appearance of the names of the issuing chiefs accompanied by regal titles, such as those we come across on the Sātavāhana coins, was in all likelihood inspired by the coins of the Indo-Greeks. This new development, which transformed the character of Indian coinage, took place not earlier than the first century B. C.

It has been recently suggested that prior to the first century B. C. Sātavāhanas may have issued coins without any legends such as the punch-marked coins[45]. However, the question at stake is not whether the Sātavāhanas issued uninscribed coins also, but the dating of the coins of the earliest Sātavāhana rulers which, we know, are inscribed. And these, we have seen, belong to a date not much earlier than the middle of the first century B. C.

7. The above view also finds support from another consideration. Sātakarṇi I and Sātavāhana issued lead coins together with those in copper and potin. While lead as an alloy is known to Kauṭilya who lived in the fourth century B. C., it first came to be employed by itself as a metal for

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striking coins much later. Excluding the Sātavāhanas and their neighbours and successors Strato II (first cent. B. C.) is the earliest king to issue a solitary type in lead[46]. Lead by itself never enjoyed popularity as a coin-metal in the north and even in south and Deccan it ceased to be used for this purpose after the Ikṣvākus and the Sātavāhanas. The employment of this metal for striking coins constitutes a peculiar feature of Indian numismatics during a particular period. In view of this fact the earliest Sātavāhana kings who issued coins in lead cannot be placed earlier than the first century B. C.

8. To sum up. All the evidences, literary and archaeological, when properly sifted, co-ordinated and correlated, lead us to the incontestable conclusion that the epoch of the Sātavāhana rule lies somewhere about the middle of the first century B. C.

REFERENCES

1. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii, xxvi (soon after Aśoka's death, i. e. 232 B.C.); *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (First Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1955), p. 477 (before 200 B. C.); V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 216–218 (240–230 B. C.); K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country* (Madras, 1941), p. 28 and *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (Ed. K. A. N. Sastri, Macmillan, 1957), p. 295 (235 and 234 B. C.), etc. Gurty Venkat Rao (*Early History of the Deccan*, Ed. G. Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 90), however, places this event too early and thinks that 'Simuka must have come to power about the year 271 B. C.'

2. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th Ed., Calcutta, 1953), pp. 403–406 and D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Ed. Majumdar and Pusalkar, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1953), p. 195 (30 B. C.), etc. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, thinks that the 112 years assigned by the Purāṇas to the Śuṅgas really included the 45-year period of the rule of the four Kāṇvāyana rulers also and accordingly dates the accession of the first Andhra king Simuka in 73 B. C. (*Early History of the Deccan* (*Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III), pp. 44, 48. Also *vide* D. R. Bhandarkar, *IA*, 1918, pp. 69 ff.

3. Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya, The Purāṇic Account of the Sātavāhanas, *JIH*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 359–365. This view, which is based solely on the use of the word *punar* in a stanza of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, has nothing to commend itself.

4. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 36.

5. Thus the *Vāyu* MSS name 17, 18, 19 or 25; *Brahmāṇḍa* 17; *Bhāgavata* 23; and *Viṣṇu* 22, 23 or 24. *Vide ibid.*, p. 36.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 43, left column, line 5. Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. lxiv and note 4) takes '19' as an error for '29'.

7. Pargiter, *op. cit*, p. 36.

8. Thus the *Matsya* gives 460 years, *Vāyu* 411; *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* 456. *Ibid.*, p. 37. Some *Matsya* MSS, however, give 412 years. *Ibid.*, p. 43, fn. 32.

9. R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 48 and fn. 1.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

11. The name of the first Andhra king is variously spelt in the Purāṇas as Śiśuka, Sindhuka, Chismaka, Śipraka, etc., which are due to corruption in the course of copying and re-copying. The correct form of the name is given in a label inscription at Naneghat.

12. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

13. *ASWI*, Vol. V, pp. 60 f., 64; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), pp. 192 ff., 190–191.

14. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.

15. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xix; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 477–78; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. III (Nagpur, 1962), p. 2, etc.

16. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 79, text-line 4.

17. Some scholars, however, place the Hathigumpha inscription later than the Naneghat ones and identify the Sātakarṇi of the former record with Sātakarṇi II. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 303.

18. Bhagwanlal Indraji, Konow and Jayaswal found a reference to 165th year of the Maurya era, but Jayaswal later gave up this view. *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 74. This reading was, however, followed by Rapson (*BMCAWK*, Introduction, p. xvii) and Bühler (*Indian Palaeography* (Calcutta, 1959)), p. 57.

19. *EI*, Vol. XX, pp. 75, 87. Also see Lüders' *List*, No. 1345; Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26.

20. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 405–06; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 215, note 7, p. 220; B. M. Barua, *IHQ*, Vol. XIV, p. 469 and notes 136–137. For the palaeographic dating of the Hathigumpha inscription, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 213, note 1.

21. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 65.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 98; *EI*, Vol. VIII, p. 93; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 189.

24. *ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 73.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

26. *CII*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. xv; *EI*, Vol. III, p. 260 (Vākāṭakas); *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294 (Tīvaradeva).

27. *EI*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff. (Vākāṭakas); Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (1st Ed., Nagpur, 1960) pp. 220 ff. (Tivaradeva).

28. It was assigned by Hiralal to the end of the 9th century A. D. (*Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd Ed., Nagpur, 1932, p. 49, No. 84), but Prof. Mirashi has convincingly shown that it really belongs to early eighth century A. D. (*CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 174-75). For the reading of the name Vāparāja *vide* my *Tripurī* (Bhopal, 1971), pp. 41–42.

29. H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo, Z. D. Ansari and Sophie Ehrhardt, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa* (Poona, 1960 — hereinafter cited as *Nevasa*), p. 69. On p. 67, however, Period IV is stated to have lasted from *c.* 150 B. C. to 50 B. C.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 69–70; *Indian Archaeology–1959–60–A Review*, p. 25.

31. *Nevasa*, pp. 67, 69–70. According to the later revised date, however, the beginning of Period V has to be placed about the commencement of the Christian era.

32. NBP ware sherds have been encountered in layers 3 and 4 of Trench Y assigned to Period IV. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.

33. This coin has been found in layer 3 of Trench Y. See *ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 163.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Also cf. p. 69, where coins have been stated to have been used as a principal evidence for dating the occupation of the weathered layer by the inhabitants of Period IV.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 162; *JNSI*, Vol. XXII, p. 145.

36. These coins come from layer 8 of Trench E and layer 3 of Trenches I and X. *Nevasa*, Fig. 84 and pp. 171–172.

37. *Ibid.*, Fig. 84, p. 65.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.

39. *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 164–169.

40. S. B. Deo and M. K. Dhavalikar, *Paunar Excavation* (Nagpur, 1968), pp. 13–14.

41. Cf. P. L. Gupta, *infra*, II : 3, where he also suggests, on independent grounds, first century B. C. or A. D. as the beginning of Period IV. However, his date for the *terminus ad quem* of Period V, *i. e.* third-fourth century A. D. is not acceptable to us for reasons discussed above.

42. S. B. Deo, A New Type of Śrī Sātakarṇi, *Early Indian Indigenous Coins* (Ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1970), pp. 111–112; Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Pauni Excavations*, pp. 99–100.

43. K. Gopalachari, for instance, places Sātakarṇi I's reign between *c.* 212 and 195 B. C. See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 301.

44. P. L. Gupta, *Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, (Hyderabad, 1961), pp. 31–33; *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 86–87; D. C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159. We do not intend to suggest that these legends were based on or borrowed from those found on Indo-Greek coins. But the idea of including legends on Indian coins was probably inspired by Indo-Greek issues.

45. *INSI.*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. I, p. 4.

46. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 325.

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SECTION II

SEMINAR II

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

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SEMINAR II

COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

1.	*Lahiri, Bela*	Tribal and Local Coins from Excavations.
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3.	*Gupta, Parameshwari Lal*	Sātavāhana Coins from Excavations.
4.	*Bajpai, K. D.*	Gupta Coins from Excavations.

II : 1

TRIBAL AND LOCAL COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

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Tribal and local coins are the main source of our information for the reconstruction of the history of Northern India between the fall of the Mauryas and the rise of the Guptas. They were issued by various indigenous states of both monarchical and non-monarchical constitution, which sprang up in Northern India after the decline of the Mauryas. Many of these states lost their independence with the extension of the Kuṣāṇa power over the major portion of Northern India. Some of them revived after the decline of the Kuṣāṇas but were ultimately submerged into the Gupta empire.

In the recent times, large-scale archaeological excavations over different parts of India have helped us greatly to add to our knowledge of the history of ancient India and are expected to throw more light on its different aspects. The discovery of coins in a stratified condition is much more significant than stray finds. On the one hand, the stratification of different series of coins suggests their relative chronological position. As for example, the Hastināpur excavations have yielded punch-marked coins, uninscribed cast coins, five Mathurā coins, six Yaudheya coins and some pieces imitated from the issues of Vāsudeva from various levels of Period IV which is dated from about 200 B. C. to 300 A. D.[1] The stratification shows that the Mathurā and Yaudheya coins were later than the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins but earlier than the Kuṣāṇa issues. Of them, again, Mathurā coins are earlier than the Yaudheya pieces.

Of course, we should be very cautious while assessing the proper implications of stratification. Antiquities obtained from lower levels may not necessarily indicate that they are earlier in date than those unearthed from upper ones. For, natural or man-made disturbances in the layers may often cause stratified materials to be misplaced, so much so that objects belonging to a particular period may be found with those belonging to another period, separated by one or two centuries; and this may mislead us to a wrong conclusion about the date of the objects recovered from the concerned layers.

Anyway, apart from the question of date, the discovery of coins in a stratified condition generally helps us to a great extent in locating certain ancient cities or tribes whose names we get from their monetary issues. For, local coins, which are of copper, are not expected to travel far from the place of their origin. Hence, a locality which generally yields coins of a particular city or a tribe may be identified with that city or taken to be the area where the concerned tribe lived.

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Unfortunately, proper reports with necessary details of coins unearthed are not always available for all the excavations, and we have often to depend on sketchy and vague references to coins as found in archaeological publications like *Indian Archaeology, A Review*.

Available archaeological evidences show that the uninscribed cast coins started earlier than the inscribed ones. The stratigraphic evidence of the excavations at Hastināpur, Kauśāmbī, Rajghat, Śrāvastī, Sohagaura, etc. indicates that the uninscribed copper pieces started about the fourth-third century B. C. and are found usually associated with punch-marked coins and sherds of the N. B. P. ware[2]. At Kauśāmbī the square uninscribed cast coins antedate even the silver and copper punch-marked pieces[3]. Excavations in Eastern India, such as at Vaiśālī, Chirand, Sonpur, Kumrahar and places in West Bengal, however, show that they started in these regions a little later, about the middle of the second century B. C. These pieces continued upto the beginning of the Christian era, while in Bengal they seem to have remained in circulation upto the Gupta period[1].

The local and tribal coins are the earliest inscribed issues of India. The numismatic issues of each particular locality or tribe had their respective marks distinctive from those of the others. They bear the name of a particular city or a ruler or a whole tribe. Accordingly, they may be classified into the following groups :—

A. City Coins, i. e. those which were issued in the names of particular cities mainly located in the Narmadā-Yamunā belt, e. g. Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, Erakiṇa, Ujjayinī, Tripurī, Māhiṣmatī and others. The nature of the *Negamā* coins of the Taxila area indicates that they were possibly also a sort of 'city-issues'.

B. Dynastic Coins, i. e. those which were issued in the names of rulers of various monarchical states of Madhyadeśa, such as Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, Kanauj, Pañcāla and Almora.

C. Tribal Coins, which were issued in the names of particular tribes of the Punjab region, *viz.*, the Agratyas, Audumbaras, Kulūtas, Kuṇindas, Rājanyas, Trigartas, Vemakis, Vṛṣṇis and Yaudheyas.

D. Tribal Coins of the Rajasthan area, *viz.*, those of the Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, Śibis and Uddehikas, and the coinage of the Nāgas of different localities.

Of these the city issues are found in many cases in association with the punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins from layers dated about the third-second century B. C. They are rare in layers dated after Christian era. In the Kauśāmbī and other excavations, coins bearing the names of local rulers come from layers datable to a period later than those yielding uninscribed issues. Thus, the city coins which are generally found in association with the uninscribed cast pieces may be dated earlier than the dynastic issues of the local rulers. The cryptic legends and Prākṛit forms of the names of the cities in the nominative also indicate an earlier date for the city issues.

A. City Issues :

Vārāṇasī—Vārāṇasī is well-known as the capital of the ancient kingdom of *Kāśī*. During the 1940 excavations at Rajghat, the discovery of a sealing bearing the inscription *Vārāṇasy = adhiṣthān-ādhikaraṇasya* in Gupta characters has proved that the ancient site of Vārāṇasī is represented by Rajghat to the north-eastern outskirts of the modern city of Vārāṇasī. Further excavations in

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1957–58 at that site have brought to light six periods of human habitations, ranging from the 6th-5th century B. C. to the 17th century A. D.[5] From the dig of Period II (dated between the second century B. C. and the first century A. D.) have been unearthed 5 inscribed seals, as well as some uninscribed cast copper coins. Further excavations at the site in 1960–61 have yielded some uninscribed copper coins from layers of Period III (first century A. D. to third century A. D.) as well as a number of inscribed seals[6].

Two coins collected by S. SINGH ROY from the ruins of Rajghat in 1944 are said to bear the legend *Vārāṇasī* in characters of the first century B. C.[7] One of them is supposed to contain the name of the issuer also. These were probably the city coins of Vārāṇasī, but since they did not come from actual excavation, it is not possible to verify their date.

Vidiśā—Vidiśā was a renowned city of ancient India and was the capital of Ākara or Eastern Malwa. Some coins in the cabinet of Mahant Ghasidas Museum of Raipur, coming from Vidiśā, are said to bear the legend *Vedisa* or *Veddasa* in characters of the early second century B. C.[8] These are apparently the city coins of Vidiśā.

The discovery of some coins with the legend *Vedisa* from the Besnagar excavations of 1963-64[9] shows that ancient Vidiśā is represented by the modern village of Besnagar near Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. Out of 300 coins excavated from Besnagar, one coin bearing the name of the city came from Period II (sixth to third century B. C.), associated with N. B. P. ware sherds and punch-marked coins, and another from the top level of Period III (about third to second century B. C.). These city coins may, therefore, be dated about the third or second century B. C.

Erakiṇa—Erakiṇa or Airikiṇa was another important city of Eastern Malwa and is identified with Eran situated on the right bank of the Bīnā river in the Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh[10]. The old form of the name is preserved in the Sāñchī inscriptions[11] and those of Samudragupta and Toramāṇa found at that place[12].

The coinage of Eran, as pointed out by CUNNINGHAM, offers specimens of the four different classes of old Indian money — punch-marked, uninscribed cast, die-struck and inscribed coins.[13] The supposed earliest inscribed coin of India bearing the name of its issuer Dharmapāla comes from Eran[14]. Three coins with the inscription *Erakaṇya* in characters of about the second century B. C. are ascribed to the city of Eran or Erakiṇa[15].

Recent excavations at Eran have yielded a good number of punch-marked and other uninscribed (local ?) coins along with a seal having the legend *Raño Idagutasa* in Mauryan Brāhmī characters from the deposits of Period II (datable to a few centuries before the Christian era)[16]. Some coins with the legend *Erakaṇya* are also reported to have been dug up from the deposits of the same Period[17]. The city coins of Eran may therefore be dated about the second century B. C.

Ujjayinī—Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain) was a great emporium of ancient India and the capital of Western Malwa. An extensive series of copper coins, closely linked up with the coinage of Eran, is attributed to Ujjayinī. The great majority of Ujjayinī coins is uninscribed. Known inscribed pieces which are few in number bear the legend *Ujeni* and were evidently the city issues of Ujjayinī.

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Recent excavations in the northern outskirts of the city of Ujjayinī have revealed the remains of a fortified citadel and a continuity of occupation of the site from a period prior to the sixth century B. C. upto the Muslim conquest of Malwa in the fourteenth century[18]. Three city coins with the legend *Ujeni* are reported to have come from the mid-level of Period II (dated about 500 B. C. to 200 B. C.), which is characterised by the occurrence of punch-marked coins and N. B. P. ware sherds[19]. Two inscribed ivory seals have also been recovered from the upper levels of this period and are assigned to the third-second century B. C. This fact indicates that the city issues of Ujjayinī were possibly of a little earlier date, say about the third century B. C.

Uninscribed coins of Ujjayinī are also found in layers of Period IV (400 B. C. to 100 B. C.) of Navdatoli and Period V (100 B. C. to 100 A. D.) of Maheshwar[20], which shows that they started earlier than the city issues but continued till a later time.

Tripurī—Coins with the legend *Tipuri* in characters of 'the late third or early second cenrtury B. C.'[21] are ascribed to the ancient city of Tripurī, identified with modern Tewar, 8 miles from Jabalpur on the road to Bheraghat. It was the capital of the Kalacuris in the early medieval period. These coins are available from the site of the city as well as from the far-away Hoshangabad District and places in Western India[22].

Recent excavations at Tripurī (in 1966–67 and 1967–68) by the Sagar University have brought to light four cultural periods, ranging in time from 500 B. C. to 400 A. D.[23] Some inscribed, punch-marked and cast copper coins as well as several rare issues of the Sātavāhana kings and those of some unknown Bodhi chiefs have come to light. Relics of the Kalacuri period were also recovered from the upper layers. A coin of the city of Tripurī came from Period I and is dated about the third century B. C.[24] The palaeography of the legend as well as the fact that these city issues are single-die pieces with the 'seal-like impression', characteristic of early Indian single-die coins[25], also confirms the early date of the 'city coins' of Tripurī.

Māhiṣmatī—Some coins with the legend *Mahisati* have been assigned to the city of Māhiṣmatī, which was the capital of Southern Avanti and a town of great antiquity[26]. But opinions differ about the identity of that ancient city : some scholars identify it with Māndhātā[27], while others believe that it is represented by modern Maheshwar on the Narmadā[28].

However, of the four known coins bearing the name of the city of Māhiṣmatī, two are in the British Museum and their findspots are unknown[29]. The third specimen came from the river bed at Ujjain[30], while the fourth was procured at Maheṣhwar[31]. But since the Maheshwar piece is a surface-find and was not actually dug up in course of excavations, it is not easy to say if Maheshwar marks the site of ancient Māhiṣmatī.

Recent excavations at Maheshwar and Navda Toli on both sides of the Narmadā have brought to light the remains of a great Chalcolithic Culture of Central India, followed by the remains of three historical periods[32]. A coin similar to the city issues of Māhiṣmatī was discovered in the excavations at Navda Toli[33]. But since the coin is unfortunately broken at the bottom, its legend, if any, is lost, and we are consequently unable to determine the identification of Māhiṣmatī with Maheshwar. The stratigraphy of the broken coin, if it was really the city-issue of Māhiṣmatī, however, suggests a date in about the third-second century B. C., which fact agrees with the date of the known city coins.

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(City) Coins of Takṣaśilā or Taxila—The city of Takṣaśilā or Taxila, the celebrated capital of of Eastern Gandhāra, which has been identified with modern Shah Dheri, 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, and is represented by the three main sites of Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh[34], has yielded a large number of ancient copper coins of indigenous origin. The majority of the coins which are ascribable to Taxila itself is uninscribed. But, curiously enough, the legends of the inscribed pieces, which are not so rare, do not include the name of Takṣaśilā. They bear on the obverse interesting legends like *Negamā*, *Pañcanekame*, etc.[35], and on the reverse curious legends like *Rālimasa*, *Atakatakā*, etc. (evidently in the nominative). They are believed to have been the issues of different merchant-guilds with some system of co-ordination from a central authority[36], which probably had its headquarters at Takṣaśilā proper. Prolonged and large-scale excavations at Taxila have produced numerous local issues along with those of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas[37], which help us to determine the date of the Taxila issues. According to ALLAN, the local coinage of Taxila was a short-lived one, starting from the time of the Maurya governors (about the third century B.C.) and ending with the Greek occupation of the city (about second century B.C.)[38]. Although the earlier date is confirmed by the Taxila excavations, the later date is not altogether undisputable. Taxila coins in the Bhir Mound excavations come from the Maurya-Śuṅga levels and cannot be dated earlier than the third century B. C. But since Sirkap, which came into existence *only after the Greek conquest*, has produced from excavations more of these local issues, we have to hold with MARSHALL that they 'continued to be struck for some time after the Greeks, and possibly after the Śaka conquest also'.[39]

B. Dynastic Issues of Madhyadeśa :

Kauśāmbī—Kauśāmbī was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Vatsa, and has been identified by CUNNINGHAM with modern Kosam, about 30 miles to the south-west of Allahabad[40]. The discovery of the city issues with the legend *Kosabi* from the site of Kauśāmbī has since confirmed this identification. Kauśāmbī, which has produced all three categories of early Indian money, viz., punch-marked, uninscribed cast and inscribed coins, is a prolific site for local coins of numerous varieties.

The local coinage of Kauśāmbī may be divided into two broad classes :—

(A) the early uninscribed cast pieces,

and (B) the inscribed issues.

The latter inscribed coins may again be sub-divided into four groups, *viz.*—

(1) the City Coins,
(2) the dynastic issues of the so-called Mitra rulers,
(3) those of Dhanadeva and their imitations,
and (4) those of the Maghas.

Of the dynastic issues, ALLAN thinks that the cast pieces of Sudeva and Bahasatimita were the earliest and belonged to the first half of the second or even the third century B. C.[41] He places the uninscribed cast coins before the dynastic issues, while the city coins, which are also cast and linked up by style and types with the uninscribed cast pieces on the one hand and those of Sudeva and Bahasatimita on the other, may be placed midway between the two groups of coins. The early inscribed cast pieces were followed by the struck coins of the Mitra rulers, which are dated about the

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end of the second and the first century B. C.[42] The coins of Dhanadeva and their imitations were later than the Mitra coins and are assigned to the early centuries A. D.[43] Next followed the Magha coins which belong to the Kuṣāṇa period.

The above chronological sequence of the Kauśāmbī coins is also supported by the evidence of the recent excavations at Kauśāmbī conducted by the Allahabad University. Moreover, these excavations have thrown further light on the relative chronology of the different series of the local issues of Kauśambī[44]. Of the four categories of cast coins of Kauśambī the square pieces are the earliest and come from Structural Period II.5 to Structural Period III.16. Next come the round cast coins which are available from S. P. III.10 to S. P. III.14. These are followed by the so-called 'Lankey Bull' type of cast coins coming from S. P. III.13 to S. P. III.15, which in their turn are followed by the tiny cast pieces which come from S. P. III.10 to S. P. IV.20. The silver and copper punch-marked coins are available from S. P. III.10 to S. P. III.14. The inscribed Mitra coins (of Sudeva, Bahasatimita, Agnimitra, Aśvaghoṣa and others) are found from S. P. III.15 and S. P. III.16, and are followed by the Magha coins coming from S. P. IV.20.

Thus we find that the square uninscribed coins are the earliest and their origin antedates even the silver punch-marked coins at Kauśambī. The round inscribed cast pieces seem to be contemporary with the punch-marked coins, while the other types of uninscribed cast pieces remained in circulation even after the issue of the punch-marked coins was stopped there. The inscribed issues of the Mitras were later than the uninscribed pieces and the Magha coins are the latest.

Ayodhyā—The ancient city of Ayodhyā (in Fyzabad District) was the capital of the Kingdom of Kosala. The coinage of this locality falls into three distinct series. The first and the earliest one consists of some rare uninscribed round pieces, analogous to those of Kauśāmbī and comparable to the City coins. They are assigned to about the third century B. C.[45] To the second series belong the square cast dynastic issues of the Devas and the Dattas, datable to about the second century B.C.[46] The third series consists of the round struck pieces of the Mitras of a later date, covering the first two centuries A. D.[47]

The excavations at Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet on the borders of Gonda and Bahraich Districts) conducted in 1958–59 have yielded some copper coins including a coin of the Ayodhyā series dated to the middle of the second century B. C. from the upper levels of Period II[48]. A coin of Āyumitra was found along with some Indo-Scythian and Kuṣāṇa coins in a jar from the excavations at Sahet-Mahet in 1908–09[49]. Another coin of this ruler was unearthed from the Kuṣāṇa level in the excavations at Bhīṭā in 1911–12[50]. These facts confirm that the Mitra rulers of Ayodhyā flourished during the post-Kuṣāṇa period and were later than those represented by the square cast pieces.

Almora—The Almora coins are distinctive by their metal and weight and are assigned to about the second century B. C.[51] Three silver-plated copper pieces of lighter weight belonging to Śivadatta of the Almora coins have been found at Sahet-Mahet along with other issues of Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Mathurā[52]. But since these coins were picked up by villagers, and not found in course of excavations, they do not help us much in the matter of dating. It may only indicate commercial intercourse between Śrāvastī on the one hand and Mathurā, Ayodhyā, Pañcāla and Almora on the other.

Kanauj—No coin ascribed to Kanauj is reported to have come from the limited excavations carried out at Kanauj in 1955–56[53].

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Mathurā—The coins of Mathurā are of two distinct series; those of the local Hindu rulers of the second-first century B. C., and the others of the Śaka Satraps who succeeded them[54]. Small-scale excavations at Mathurā in 1954–55 yielded some square copper coins from the middle layers of Period II (*c.* 5th to 2nd centuries B. C.), while some other copper coins came from the latest layers of the same period[55]. From Period III also came some copper pieces along with those of the Kuṣāṇas. But we do not know the details of these coins.

Mathurā coins are also dug up from the excavations of Hastināpur, Rupar and Purana Qila. At Hastinapur, coins of Mathurā rulers including two of Śeṣadatta come from the earliest levels of Period IV (second century B. C. to third century A. D.), which is preceded by the occurrence of punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins and the N. B. P. ware in Period III (sixth to third century B. C.)[56]. The Mathurā coins are however found in earlier levels than those producing Yaudheya issues with the legend *Yaudheyānāṁ bahudhañake*, and both of them are earlier than the Kuṣāṇa coins.

At Purana Qila also Mathurā coins are preceded by the N. B. P. ware, punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins and succeeded by the Yaudheya and Kuṣāṇa issues. They are found associated with terracottas of the Śuṅga style[57]. At Rupar, Mathurā coins are found from the early levels of Period IV (*c.* 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.), which also yielded Indo-Greek and local Taxila coins[58]. Thus, archaeological evidences confirm the date of the coins of the Hindu rulers of Mathurā as the second-first century B. C.

Pañcāla—Ahicchatrā (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly District) which was the capital of the ancient kingdom of Pañcāla has produced a remarkable series of local coins of the so-called Mitra rulers. The excavations at Ahicchatrā, resumed after 20 years, in 1963–64 yielded some copper coins including those of Pañcāla, the Kuṣāṇas and Acyu from Period III or the Kuṣāṇa level[59]. This shows that the Pañcāla coins continued even after the Kuṣāṇas. Some coins of Indramitra come from the Kumrahar excavations of 1912–13[60].

C. Tribal Coins of the Punjab Region :

No coin belonging to the Rājanya[61], Trigarta, Vemaki and Vṛṣṇi tribes has so far been discovered from excavations. The Vemaki and Vṛṣṇi issues are found along with those of the Audumbaras[62].

Agratyas—The Agratya Janapada is known from some coins in the British Museum which were obtained by Rodgers at Barwalla in the Hissar District of the Punjab[63]. Fifty-one more coins of similar type and legends were procured from the excavations at Agroha, a few miles west of Barwalla, in the same square and at the same depth as that which yielded four coins of later Indo-Greek rulers[64]. We may, therefore, hold that Agrodaka, the headquarters of the Agratya Janapada, was situated at Agroha in the Hissar District and that its coinage is to be dated about the latter part of the Indo-Greek rule in the Punjab, i. e. about the end of the second century or the beginning of the first century B. C.

Audumbaras—The coins of the dynasty of Audumbara Dharaghoṣa are assigned to the first century B. C. on palaeographic grounds[65]. Archaeological evidences also confirm this date. In the Rupar excavations, Audumbara coins came from the mid-level of Period IV (*c.* 200 B. C. to 400 A.D.), suggesting a date later than that of the Indo-Greek coins and the local issues of Mathurā and Taxila but earlier than that of the Kuṣāṇa coins[66].

One silver coin of Audumbara Dharaghoṣa was found in a field near Jwalamukhi along with three silver pieces of the Kuṇindas and 28 silver coins of Apollodotus II Soter Philopator[67]. This fact may indicate that the silver coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas and, in fact, those of all the Punjab tribes, were imitated from the later Indo-Greek silver issues and that they may be dated about the second half of the first century B. C.

Kuṇindas—The Kuṇinda coins are of two classes : those that bear the name of Amoghabhūti Kuṇinda, assigned to the first century B. C. and those bearing the name of Chatreśvara, dated three centuries later[68]. Some Kuṇinda coins were unearthed from the same layers as those yielding Audumbara coins at Rupar[69]. The Kuṇinda coins are therefore to be dated about the same time, i. e. the first century B. C. A coin of Amoghabhūti Kuṇinda coming from Stratum II of Sirkap in the Taxila excavations also points to the late first century B. C. as its date[70]. A Chatreśvara type of Kuṇinda coin was discovered from the excavations at Bhītā (in 1911–12) in the Kuṣāṇa level[71] which shows that Chatreśvara pieces were of the post-Kuṣāṇa period.

Kulūtas—Before the Taxila excavations, the Kulūtas were represented by a unique silver piece of Vīrayaśas, dated about 100 A. D.[72] But the Taxila excavations have thrown considerable light on the history of the Kulūtas by yielding 11 copper coins bearing the names of Vijayamitra, Vīrayaśas and probably two other rulers[73]. Of them, only Vīrayaśas was known earlier from his unique silver coin. The discovery of these copper pieces, which are not expected to travel far from their place of origin, in a stratified condition in Taxila is significant. It is not unlikely that the Kulūtas originally lived in the Taxila region, but were forced (like some other Punjab tribes like the Mālavas and the Śibis) to migrate eastwards to their later home, the Kulu Valley, due to the pressure of the Kuṣāṇa invasion. For, the find seems to have been buried during the period of Kadphises II and Soter Megas. The copper coins are, therefore, assigned a date of about the beginning of the first century A. D. by both MARSHALL and WHITEHEAD[74]. Since Vīrayaśas is also represented by these copper coins, his silver piece cannot be dated later than the first half of the first century A. D.

Rājanyas—The Rājanya coins are of two classes : those with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and those with Brāhmī inscriptions. A Rājanya coin with Brāhmī legend came from Stratum II of Sirkap in the Taxila excavations[75]. Thus, ALLAN's dating of the Rājanya coins with the Brāhmī legend about the first century B. C. is apparently confirmed.[76]

Yaudheyas—The Yaudheya coins are divided into 6 classes which are assigned to three different periods, Classes I, II and V belonging to the late second and the first centuries B. C., Classes III and IV to the latter part of the second century A. D. and Class VI to the third and early fourth centuries A. D.[77]

Six Yaudheya coins of the *Bahudhañake* type were unearthed in the Hastināpur excavations from a level later than that which yielded Mathurā coins, but earlier than that producing Kuṣāṇa coins[78]. Thus, the coins of Class II were pre-Kuṣāṇa and their dating about the first century B. C. would not be wrong.

Two mint-sites of the Yaudheyas are marked by Rohtak, which produced terracotta moulds for Yaudheya coins of the Bahudhānyaka type (Class II), and Sunet which produced moulds for later Yaudheya issues of the Kuṣāṇa type (Class VI)[79]. Certain excavations were carried out at Khokra

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Kot mound at Rohtak during the year 1880[80]. Some small coins found during this digging were assigned by HOERNLE to the late Śaka period. An excavation of Sunet, another mint site, which has produced about 80 moulds for the Yaudheya coins of the third-fourth century A. D., is expected to throw more light on the history of the Yaudheyas.

D. Tribal Coins of Rajasthan Area :

No coin of the Ārjunāyanas is so far reported from excavations. The excavations at Rairh have produced 5 great hoards of punch-marked coins (totalling 3075 specimens) and some copper coins, most of which were, however, surface finds[81]. These include over 300 Mālava coins and 14 coins of the Mitra rulers of Uddehika-Sūdavāpa series, 6 Senāpati coins, 7 Vapu coins, besides other issues. But since these coins did not come in the process of actual digging, they do not help us much in determining their chronology. It may only be said that the territories of the Mālavas as well as the Uddehika-Sūdavāpas were close to each other and situated near about Rairh.

Śibis—The 1915–16 excavations conducted by MARSHALL in the Hāthibāḍa site at Nagarī yielded some coins of the Śibi Janapada from the floor of a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a stone wall (*pujā-śilā-prākāra*, referred to in the Ghosuṇḍī inscription, which was erected in honour of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva)[82]. Later excavations at Nagarī in 1962–63 also produced some coins of the Śibi Janapada of Madhyamikā[83]. The identification of Madhyamikā with Nagarī in the Chitorgarh District is now confirmed by these excavations. As ALLAN thinks, the Śibi Janapada coins were issued in the second century B. C.[84].

The Nāgas—The Nāga coins are procured from various places, *viz*., Padmāvatī (in Gwalior District), Mathura and Vidiśā, which seem to be their main centres[85]. D. R. BHANDARKAR's Besnagar excavations of 1913–14 yielded some Nāga coins, including the issues of Bhīmanāga and Gaṇapatināga[86]. The excavations at Eran in 1961–62 and 1962–63 have also produced some Nāga coins from Period III (above the N. B. P. level) along with silver and copper punch-marked, Western Satrap and other coins[87]. These show that Eastern Malwa was included within the Nāga kingdom which was contiguous to the Western Satrap territories in Western Malwa. The Nāga coins which are of the post-Kuṣāṇa period were also to some extent contemporary with the Western Satrap issues.

The above survey is an attempt to show how a proper study of the archaeological evidences relating to the Local and Tribal coins may help us in determining their dates as well as areas of their circulation.

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57. Cf. *SPLCNI*, p. 64.

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59. *IAR*, 1963–64, p. 44. The first excavations at Ahicchatrā were made in 1940–44. Cf. *Ancient India*, No. 1; also *SPLCNI*, p. 106.

60. *ASR*, 1912–13, p. 84.

61. [But as stated later, a Rājanya coin with the Brāhmī legend was found in Stratum II at Sirkap in Taxila excavations — Ed.].

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II : 2

BEARING OF THE EXCAVATIONS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE AUDUMBARAS

By

M. D. N. Sahi

The present paper attempts to reconstruct the early history of the Audumbaras in the light of archaeological finds obtained during the excavations at Rupar. Since the detailed report of the excavations has not yet been published, we will have to depend on the brief report thereof[1].

The Audumbaras are placed in the *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini (III.2.53) near the people of Jālandhara. *The Mahābhārata* (II.48.12) mentions them with the people of the north, while the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* puts them in the middle country. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, Jīvaka is represented as taking a journey from Taxila to Bhadraṅkara, Udumbara, Rohītaka and Mathurā. Thus the Audumbaras were established on the ancient highway which passed through Śākala, Agrodaka and Rohītaka and carried the trade of the Gangetic valley to Taxila. This location is quite in accord with the findspots of their coins at Jwalamukhi, Pathankot, Irippal and Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. Allan places them in the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Ravi[2]. Przyluski has shown that the coins and the Buddhist texts agree about the location and the high material prosperity they had attained before the commencement of the Christian Era[3].

Audumbara coins have been found in association with those of Apollodotus, Kuṇindas, Zoilus, Vonones, Gondophernes as well as Kaniṣka and Huviṣka from the different regions referred to above. On palaeographical grounds the silver coins which were based on the metrological standard of the Indo-Greek models have been dated to about 100 B. C. by Cunningham,[4] Allan[5] and J. N. Banerjea[6]. Let us now examine the relative chronological position of the Audumbara coins on the basis of excavated finds from Rupar.

At Rupar[7] the punch-marked coins of Period III were succeeded by the coins of the rulers of Mathurā and those of Antialkidas and Apollodotus II, obtained from an early level of Period IV, dated between 200 B. C. and 400 A. D. The mid-level of the same period yielded the coins of the Audumbaras and the Kuṇindas, whereas the coins of Kuṣāṇa rulers came forth from the later level of the same period. Thus on the basis of their stratigraphical position it can be inferred that—

(a) Mathurā and Indo-Greek coins are contemporaneous;

(b) Mathurā and Indo-Greek coins are pre-Audumbara;

and (c) Kuṣāṇa coins are post-Audumbara[8].

It further establishes the fact that most probably the Audumbaras emerged into prominence during the closing years of the 2nd century B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century B. C.

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This chronological position, however, does not help us to ascertain precisely in what period the Audumbaras entered into the realm of history. TARN asserts that the territories of the Audumbaras, Kuṇindas, Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas were included within the kingdom of Menander[9]. On the other hand A. K. NARAIN holds that during the 2nd century B. C. the territory of the Audumbaras was under the Mitra kings of Pañcāla, with whose coins some of the Audumbara coins have been found[10].

TARN's contention is not corroborated by the evidence from Rupar since Menander's coins were not found in the stratified deposits. There is much less possibility of the extension of the territory of either Antialkidas or Apollodotus up to the river Satlaj, covering the entire Audumbara territory. Antialkidas' capital was at Taxila and the territory lying to the east of his kingdom was precariously held by the successors of Menander. If the territory of the Audumbaras was not under the occupation of Menander, it could not have been held by Apollodotus II. unless he made a fresh conquest over the region. But this conquest was too remote a possibility, because after the death of Menander the Indo-Greeks fell on evil days and fortunes of the family were adversely affected, which is proved not only by the indifferent style and execution of the coins of the later rulers but also by the fact that the joint rulers (Strato I and II) had to issue coins of lead[11]. Therefore, the presence of Indo-Greek coins in the early levels of Period IV at Rupar may at the most be interpreted according to the observations made by WHITEHEAD that they are evidence not of their rule in these districts but of popularity of their money as international currency[12]. Thus in the light of these observations corroborated by the literary evidence, referred to later, it may be said that during the 2nd century B. C. the Indo-Greek rulers did not occupy the territory between the Ravi and Satlaj.

Let us now examine the proposition made by A. K. NARAIN that during the 2nd century B. C. the territories of the Audumbaras were under the Mitra kings of Pañcāla. The basis of his contention is that Audumbara king Bhānumitra is identical with Bhānumitra of Pañcāla. On a comparative study of the two coins in question it may be observed that the symbol is commonly found on both the coins. But the two rulers cannot be identified simply because of the similarity of the name and a common symbol. To illustrate the point, it may be argued that the similarity of the names such as Sūryamitra and Dhruvamitra and a common symbol on the coins of Mathurā as well as on those of Pañcāla rulers do not lead us to the conclusion that Mathurā was under the occupation of Pañcāla rulers or *vice versa*. Secondly, palaeographically also Bhānumitra of Audumbara family appears to be a different ruler than Bhānumitra of Pañcāla line[13]. Audumbara Bhānumitra flourished during the 1st century A. D. and cannot in any case be taken to have flourished in the 2nd century B. C.

Thus the Audumbara territory was neither under the Indo-Greeks nor under the Pañcālas. In all probability it emerged as an independent kingdom along with other kingdoms like Mathurā or Pañcāla after the decline of the Mauryas. This is also indicated by a few literary evidences, specially the *Milindapañha*[14]. It's author, while mentioning about the wealth of the city of Sāgala, says that the merchandise which was in abundance there was the 'clothes from Kāśī and Kotumbara'. He further says that among the people of various 'countries' who were coming to take up their residence there, there were also 'those from Kotumbara and Modura'. It clearly establishes that during Menander's time Audumbara as well as Mathurā were independent states.

This literary account gets further corroboration from the numismatic evidence. The square copper coins bearing the tribal name of the Audumbaras in Kharoṣṭhī illustrated by CUNNINGHAM[15] appear to be the earliest and distinctly Indian in style[16]. Since they appear to be earlier than the silver currency, assigned to 100 B. C., these square copper coins may safely be ascribed to the first half of the 2nd century B. C. The other variety of square copper coins bearing bilingual legends reveals the names of four rulers, *viz.*, Dharaghoṣa, Rudradāsa, Śivadāsa and Mahādeva[17]. It may safely be conjectured that one of these rulers must have been a contemporary of Menander. Out of these square copper coins if the one illustrated by CUNNINGHAM bearing only the tribal name in Kharoṣṭhī be the earliest of the series, as it appears to be so, being modelled on the cast copper coins, then it may be reasonable to conjecture that in its initial stages the kingdom of the Audumbaras, after throwing off the Mauryan yoke, got established as a republican state but soon changed into the monarchical form of government.

The absence of Audumbara coins from the early levels of Period IV at Rupar is suggestive of the fact that in the early stages the Audumbara territory most probably was not very extensive and positively did not extend upto the river Satlaj. Perhaps at this stage it remained confined between the Ravi and the Beas.

With these facts in view, the presence of Mathurā coins in the early levels of Period IV at Rupar assumes greater significance. It may tentatively be postulated that probably the kingdom of Mathurā extended in the north upto the river Satlaj. With the closing years of the 2nd century B. C. or the beginning of the 1st century B. C. the state of the Audumbaras shoots up into prominence as a political force synchronising with the decline of the Indo-Greeks. This fact is fully corroborated by the occurrence of Audumbara coins in the mid-level of Period IV at Rupar. It appears that it extended its sway upto the river Satlaj beyond which lay the kingdom of Mathurā. It is during this period of their heyday that we find king Mahādeva probably crossing the Satlaj and inflicting a crushing defeat on Uttamadatta, the ruler of Mathurā, whose coin Mahādeva is found to have counterstruck[18]. They appear to have been ruling for some time in the region till finally they were overthrown by the Kuṣāṇa rulers, a fact which is also corroborated by the archaeological evidence from Rupar.

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II : 3

SĀTAVĀHANA COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

PARAMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

I

In the absence of proper published reports or any other record it could not be possible for me to know as to how many Sātavāhana sites have been excavated so far and how many of them have yielded any kind of numismatic material. I know only five sites of the Sātavāhanas, where some kind of excavations were made. They are Paithan, Kondapur, Chandravalli, Brahmapuri and Nevasa.

Paithan and Kondapur were excavated in the pre-independence days by the Archaeological Department of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Paithan is said to be the ancient Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. Its importance is self evident. Koṇḍāpur is not far from it; so its excavations might well have complemented and supplemented the Paithan excavations. But the excavations at these two places were almost like treasure-hunting; no systematic or scientific method was applied in their diggings. What was dug at these sites is not even known to scholars. No report about them was ever published. I am not aware if anything was ever published about the Paithan excavations; but kondapur excavations were widely publicised. Whatever is said there is of little use to scholars. In the context of coins, it may be said that the coins of the Sātavāhanas that were found there were of the Chanda-Tarhala type bearing an elephant on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse. They were all of copper and belonged to Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī Puḷumāvi and Yajña Sātakarṇi. There was also a coin having the legend *Raṁño Siri Sādavāhanasa* which was related to king Sādavāhana. There is nothing available in the published material which could throw any light on the chronology and relationship of these rulers. And as such they are hardly of any use for the Sātavāhana history.

II

The other three sites were excavated by the disciples of WHEELER on the basis of the stratigraphic method. The finds of coins in these excavations are useful for the study of the Sātavāhana history and numismatics. But the reports, as they are published, need careful analysis before any thing could be made out of them.

The excavations at Brahmapuri, an elevated area on the outskirt of the city of Kolhapur, situated on the bank of the river Pañchagaṅgā, were carried out in 1945-46 by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona. A detailed report of the excavations was published by the

Institute in 1952. But it is regretting to say that the *Report*, so far as the numismatic material is concerned, is not the least reliable. The entire numismatic material was re-examined and was critically analysed by me and its results are incorporated in a paper published in the *Bulletin* of the said Institute. It brings out the following facts :—

(1) Uninscribed coins were found in the lowermost layers of Square I and Extension II, and they are the earliest coins found in these excavations.

(2) In Square I, layer 9 was found an inscribed coin (No. 2230). It is the earliest inscribed coin in the excavations and suggests that it followed the uninscribed coins. The coin bears a tree-in-railing with a wavy line below and some symbol (not distinct) to right on one side and a hill of six arches with the legend on the other. The legend has been restored conjecturally as *Mulānaṁdasa*. Though the name is quite similar to that known from the Karwar coins, the form of the tree-in-railing on the reverse is very much different from the form found on the Karwar coins and the wavy line below the railing is also not known on them. The form of the hill on the present coin also differs very much. So, the coin cannot be attributed to Mulānanda of Karwar. This ruler, by the coin-type, is closely associated with the Kura rulers.

(3) Thirteen coins bearing the legend *Mahāraṭhisa Kurasa* and one bearing the legend *Mahāraṭhisa* (*Viḷiyā*)*yakurasa* were found in layers 8, 9 and 10 of different trenches. These coins have a bow with an arrow and legend around on the obverse and may be classified into two groups according to their reverse :—

(i) Tree-in-railing of four squares. Only one coin with this motif is known.
(ii) Tree over a three-arched hill with dots and a wavy line in a rectangle below it. All the other coins have this reverse.

These coins show that they were issued by two rulers (i) Kura and (ii) Viḷivāyakura, who held the title *Mahāraṭhi*. Kura seems to be the earliest ruler of the dynasty, which adopted his name as the dynastic one. He was either contemporary of Mulānanda in the later days of the latter or was his immediate successor. He was succeeded by Mahāraṭhi Viḷivāyakura.

(4) The largest number of coins found in these excavations are those of the rulers named Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura. They number 36 and were found in various trenches in layers 4 to 9 and a majority of them are confined to layers 6 to 9. Of the 36 coins found in the excavations, 23 are of copper; but unfortunately most of them were flaked and left only such traces as enabled them to be attributed to these rulers. On only a few the name could be identified. Two coins (Nos. 2590 and 2973) disclose the name of Māḍharīputra Sivalakura, and on one (No. 2235) *Vāsiṭhiputasa* can be read and it may conveniently be identified as the coin of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura. Of the 13 coins of lead, three (Nos. 1958, 2380-A and 2661) are so worn out that they cannot be attributed to any particular king. One discloses the legend *Raño Sivalakurasa*. The remaining nine coins belong to Viḷivāyakura. Here again we have two coins with the legends *Raño Viḷivāya*(*kurasa*) (No. 1537) and (*Raño Viḷi*)*vāyakurasa* (1833) and have no matronymic. The others have full legend *Raño Vāsiṭhiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa*.

It may well be suggested that the coins with and without matronymics belong to one and the same rulers Māḍharīputra, Sivalakura and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura, as we find the same thing amongst the coins of the Sātavāhanas. But it would be interesting to know if Mahāraṭhi

Viḷivāyakura and Rājan Viḷivāyakura were one and the same. But we have no means to determine it. It is not unlikely that both might be one and the same. He first adopted the title *Mahāraṭhī* following his father or predecessor Kura and later discarding the title *Mahāraṭhi* adopted the more showy title of *Rājan*.

The coins of Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura have been found almost in the same layers mixed together; so there is no clear indication about the succession. But two hoards of the coins of these rulers were found earlier, one in 1873 and the other in 1877 from this very site; and in them were a number of counterstruck coins, which showed that Vāsiṣṭhīputra Viḷivāyakura was succeeded by Māḍharīputra Sivalakura. The two hoards also disclosed the coinage of a third ruler of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura, who succeeded Māḍharīputra Sivalakura; but his coins could not be located amongst the excavated finds. It is not unlikely that they might have existed amongst the unidentifiables.

(5) Seven Sātavāhana copper coins were found in this excavation in layers 3 to 6 and thereby suggest that the Kura kings were supplanted by the Sātavāhana rulers in this area. This excavation thus removes the wrong belief that the Kuras were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. And this is one of the most important contributions of this excavation to history.

Of the seven coins, three coins were of the Chānda-Tarhala type; but two of them are flaked (1400 and 2468); only on the third (No. 801) the legend can be made out as ....*ra Yaña sa*....and restored as *Raño Siri Yaña Sātakaṇisa*. Two thin square coins (Nos. 4139 and 4140) are very much worn out; so they cannot be attributed. Of the remaining, one (No. 801A) bears an elephant on the obverse and tree-in-railing on the reverse, similar to *B. M. C., A. W. K.*, Pl. IV. 74–75. A number of coins of this type have been found in the excavations at Nevasa. The seventh coin bears a three-arched hill with a wavy line below with the legend around on the obverse and Ujjain symbol with a crescent over one orb on the reverse. It broadly resembles the lead coins of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī Puḷumāvi found in Krishna and Godavari districts (*B. M. C., A. W. K.*, Pl. V. 88, 89, etc.). A similar copper coin but square in shape was published by MIRASHI from KAUS Collection with a fragmentary legend *kaṇa* which he reads as *ṇaka*. There the legend was read outwardly; but on the present coin the partly visible legend may be read inwardly as-*putasa Sara Sātakaṇisa*. Thus this is a little different from it. If the initial portion, i. e. matronymic, was Gotamī or Vāsiṭhī cannot be suggested.

Whosoever might be the issuer of the Hill-Ujjain symbol type, he must be the exterminator of the Kuras, since this is the earliest coin in the excavation layers, belonging to the Sātavāhanas. He was a predecessor of Yajña Sātakarṇi as his coin is known in a later stratum.

(6) In layer 4 of Square II was found a copper coin having a rayed circle containing a jar flanked by a trident on either side on the obverse and a lion to right on the reverse. Two similar coins have been found in the excavations in the post-Sātavāhana layers at Nevasa. The coins of this type were till recently considered to be Pallava coins; but now they are taken to be Viṣṇukuṇḍin issues. Thus it makes it clear that the Brahmapuri site was occupied by the Sātavāhanas only for a short period just before they were eclipsed by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

III

The second excavated site of Chandravalli is situated in a valley near the town of Chitaldurg in Mysore State. There the excavations were conducted in 1947 by the Department of Archaeology,

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Government of India. It is described in a paper published in the *Ancient India* (No. 4). Fifty-five coins were found there; of them only forty-five are listed in that paper; the other ten were left out as they were illegible.

Of the forty-five coins listed in the paper, seven are known from unstratified area and are of no use in the context of the present paper. The remaining were found in between layers 5 to 10. The earliest strata 8 to 10 have yielded uninscribed coins as well as the inscribed one belonging to Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahārathi and his family. This shows that uninscribed coins were the earliest coins of the region. They were followed by the coins of Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya and his family. Their coins are found in large numbers in layer 7. These rulers were three in number. The earliest of them was Sadakaṇa Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi. His coins are found in layers 7 to 10. He was most likely succeeded by Mahāraṭhiputa Sadakaṇa, whose coins are known in strata 7 and 8. The last ruler was Sadakaṇa Cuṭu Kaṇha Mahāraṭhi, whose coins are known exclusively from stratum 7.

A pit, attributed to stratum 6, has yielded a coin of Cuṭukulānanda, who is well-known from a find from Karwar. If he succeeded the Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhis in this region cannot be suggested on the basis of this lone coin. It may be a drift or intruder; but it undoubtedly indicates that the issuer of the coin was more or less contemporary to the Kaḷalāya rulers.

The Kaḷalāya rulers were exterminated by the Sātavāhanas whose coins are known in strata 5 and 6. The Sātavāhana coins found in both the strata are of the Chanda-Tarhala type having elephant on one side and Ujjain symbol on the other. One coin found in stratum 6 bears the legend (*si*)*r*(*i*) *Yaña s*(*ā*)*ta*; it may conveniently be attributed to Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. In stratum 5 was found another coin with the legend (*ṇa*) *Sata*(*ka*); its full legend would be *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa*. Stratigraphically this would be the coin of a ruler later than Yajña Sātakarṇi. A third coin of this type, attributable to Puḷumāvi, was found in the second layer from the top in another cutting where the stratification was less reliable and cannot be related with that of the main site; yet it may be said that he was later than the above two rulers.

A coin of quite a new variety, probably belonging to the Sātavāhanas, was also found in stratum 6. It bears an elephant standing left and a small bow and arrow above it on the obverse and a three-arched hill with crescent and probably a tree-in-railing to its left and a wavy line below on the reverse. The legend on the obverse is truncated; so it cannot be attributed to any king.

On the basis of these coins, it may be conveniently said that the Chitaldurg region was occupied by the Sātavāhanas in the time of Yajña Sātakarṇi or only a little earlier in the time of his predecessor, whom we cannot name on the basis of excavated numismatic material.

A well-defined coin — A Roman *denarius* of Tiberius (26–37 A. D.) of the type of Livia Pax came in the excavations from stratum 5 and is in a good condition. It gives a fairly good indication that stratum 5 is later than the first half century A. D.; but how much later, remains a matter of guess, as the Roman coins were coming by way of trade in large number for quite a considerable time. This Tiberius coin is not the lone find of Chandravalli. Earlier, the coins of Augustus and Tiberius were found from this site and a hoard from the vicinity of Bangalore contained coins only upto the time of Claudius (41–54 A. D.). Though these coins are not enough for any conclusive deduction, yet they seem to indicate that the later Roman coins were unknown in the Mysore region. If it be so, the date for Yajña Sātakarṇi may be suggested in the first half of the first century A. D. or in the vicinity of it. This, however, needs further probe.

IV

The third Sātavāhana site, where any proper excavation was carried out, is Nevasa, which is situated on the banks of the river Pravarā in the district of Ahmadnagar. It was conducted by the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona, during the years 1954–55 and 1955–56. Its results are incorporated in a voluminous work entitled *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa.* A chapter covering about 43 pages is devoted to the numismatic material found in the excavations. This material is much more important than the material found in the other two excavations, described earlier, for two reasons. Firstly, the site is not very far from the places where the early inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas have been found; secondly, this excavation has brought to light almost exclusively the coinage of the Sātavāhanas.

The excavations were carried out at three points in a line on one and the same mound; one at the top of it which, according to the contour plan, stood at the height of 60–65 feet. Here eight Trenches – A, B, C, D, E, F, G and H – were laid out. The second digging was done 10 feet below it at the height of 50–55 feet; here only one Trench – Trench I – was laid out; and the third was dug still below at the height of 40–45 feet. Here two Trenches, X and Y, were laid out. All the trenches were dug quite deep. For our purpose, it would be enough to say that they touched the weathered horizon, which was like virgin soil for the habitation with which we are here concerned.

Above the weathered horizon (virgin soil) 12 layers were found in Trench E; others showed lesser number of layers. The concordance and co-relation of various layers of Trenches A–H is simple; their layers are almost parallel to each other. Trench I showed only 4 layers, X 3 layers and Y 4 layers. They are concorded and co-related amongst themselves and their layers are parallel to each other. Layers 3 and 4 of Trenches I, X and Y are equated by the excavators with layers 8–12 of Trench E; layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y was equal to layer 8 of Trench E and their layer 4 represented the layers below layer 8 of Trench E. Layer 2 of Trenches I, X and Y represented layers 2–7 of Trench E.

Now, no coins have come to light from layers 8–12 of Trenches A, B, C, D and G. One coin each was found in layers 8 and 12 of Trench E. Layer 8 of Trenches F and H yielded 2 and 1 coin respectively. Layer 4 of Trench Y yielded a battered coin and is of no use for us. Layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y, which is said to be coeval with layer 8 of the other trenches, brought to light 6, 10 and 6 coins respectively. They may be described as follows :

1. No. 6710 (Pl. 76.3) E. 12; Lead Round.
   No. 1369 (Pl. 77.2) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 1712 (Pl. 77.3) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 1810 (Pl. 76.2) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 4695 (Pl. 78.1) X. 3; Lead Round.
   No. 6659 (Pl. 77.1) F. 7; Lead Round.

Obverse : Humped bull facing right; a triangle-headed standard in front. Legend around *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing with five bold round leaves, one at the top and the other four placed in two rows; the railing is composed of a rectangle having a horizontal and two vertical bars; to right triangle-headed standard and a *nandipada*; to left *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*; above on either side of the top leaf, a circle; below two fishes and a wavy line[1].

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2. No. 1175 (Pl. 74.1); X. 3; Lead Round.
No. 1981 (Pl. 75.1); I. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Humped bull facing right; three-arched hill above; legend around *Raño Siri Sātavāhanasa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coin 1; to left *śrīvatsa* and *nandipada*; to right triangle-headed standard and probably a *nandipada*; above on either side of the top leaf a circle; below two fishes and a wavy line.

3. No. 2186 (Pl. 74.3); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.
No. 1799 (Pl. 81.2); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.
No. 2288 (Pl. 81.10); Y. 3; Copper Rectangular.

Obverse : Bull facing right; legend above *Sātavāhanasa.* (Legend is not visible on the last two coins).

Reverse : Tree-in-railing; auxiliary symbols are not visible but might be existing on preserved coins (here only seen on 1799).

4. No. 6843 (Pl. 78.2); H. 8; Copper Round.
No. 6544 (not illustrated); F. 8; Copper Round.
No. 3277 (not illustrated); Y. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; above a symbol of four unconnected circles with a crescent placed vertically over the rightmost circle. Legend around *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coins 1 and 2; symbols on either side, above and below probably as on 2 but not clear on the illustrated coin.

5. No. 6490 (Pl. 75.2); E. 8; Lead Round.
No. 3640 (Pl. 76.1); X. 3; Lead Round.
No. 3486 (Pl. 82.7); Y. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; above symbol as on coin 4; in front triangle-headed standard; legend *Raña Siri Sātavāhanasa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing as on coins 1 and 2; auxiliary symbols are not effaced, but might be similar to those on coins above.

6. No. 3007 (Pl. 79.3); I. 3; Lead Square.

Obverse : Lion with tail curled up walking right; *svastika* above; legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

Reverse : Tree-in-railing and Ujjain symbol with crescent on top orb placed side by side.

7. No. 1573 (Pl. 82.6); X. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant with upraised trunk walking right; below wavy line with fishes; traces of legend.

Reverse : Tree-in-railing with pointed leaves, one at the top, others placed in three branches.

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8. No. 1447 (Pl. 81.6); X. 3; Lead Rectangular.
No. 1580; X. 3; (Pl. 81.7); Lead Rectangular.

Obverse : Within a border of line, puissant lion facing right, with upraised curled tail.

Reverse : Five-branched tree-in-railing as seen on coins 1 and 2.

9. No. 1252 (Pl. 74.6); I. 3; Copper Rectangular.

Obverse : Six-armed symbol with arrow, taurine and circle with two ends open, (partly visible on the coin), staff and a standing human figure.

Reverse : A bold *svastika* with small taurine at each point, solid triangle and taurine.

10. No. 1195 (Pl. 81.4); Y. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Bull standing to right; probably *nandipada* below the mouth; traces of legend above.

Reverse : Tree (complete motif not visible on the coin).

11. No. 942 (Pl. 81.5); X. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Bull standing to right; above three-arched hill with crescent; traces of legend.

Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves with railing.

12. No. 6564 (Pl. 81.9); F. 8; Copper Square.

Obverse : Within a dotted border, a motif of which only the lower part is available on the coin as a humped bull standing facing right; below its dewlap a circle with pellet; to its right some stalk and dot like objects placed over a railing (?); above the bull was perhaps some legend.

Reverse : A motif which is not clear in the illustration; but it is described in the *Report* as 'hill of three arches'; a taurine in the left top corner.

13. No. 1194 (Pl. 80.4); Y. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant walking right; trunk off the flan; a symbol on the back, which appears to me as *nandipada* but identified in the *Report* as four circles; traces of legend above.

Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves in a railing; but different in form from that seen on Coin-Type 11.

14. No. 2849 (Pl. 74.2); Y. 3; Silver-coated Copper; Irregular Rectangular.
Worn punch-marked coin of most likely pre-Mauryan type; very much worn out.

15. No. 2389 (not illustrated); I. 3; Lead Square.
The obverse and reverse of the coin are extremely defaced.

All these coins were found in co-eval layers and thus they may be taken as contemporary. Coin-types 14 and 15 are of no use for the determination of the chronology of the coin-types. About the remaining types, too, there is little in the *Report* to help much in the matter. It may, however, be said on the basis of the results of the Brahmapuri and Chandravalli excavations that the uninscribed coins were followed by the inscribed ones. Accordingly, the uninscribed coins (Types 8 and 9) may be placed at the top of all other types of coins found in this excavation.

Coin-type 9 is the same as the Ujjain coins of Class 3 Varieties *b – c* of the British Museum Catalogue (*B. M. C., A. I.*, pp. 253–54) and may have travelled from Ujjain to this place. As such, only Type 9 is a local one. 13 coins of this type were found in this excavation. One of them is said to be of copper and the rest were of lead. This shows that the coins of the same type were issued in copper and lead simultaneously. Only two of these coins are described in the *Report* and no locus is given of the rest. It is only said that 11 of the coins belonged to Period IV, i. e. to the period to which the layers under discussion belonged. The other two are attributed to Period V, which means that they belonged to layer 7 or earlier of Trenches A–H, if they were found in them or to layer 3 if they belonged to Trenches I, X and Y. This means that the coins were current for quite a long period. The obverse of these coins is quite new, unknown anywhere else; but their reverse is well connected with the reverse of Types 1–4 by the main tree symbol, which is alike on all these coins. If the uninscribed coins had the auxiliary symbols, cannot be said on the basis of the published coins.

This uninscribed coin-type might have been followed by the coins of Types 1–2 and 4–5 which belong to rulers named Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Sātavāhana. All these four types have almost similar reverse motif but may be distinguished into two groups by their obverse as having bull and elephant. If the two obverses indicate two rulers each of the names Siri Sātakarṇi and Siri Sātavāhana is a matter which needs careful consideration. In the *Report* while it is conceded that there were a number of Sātavāhanas, all the coins found in the excavations are attributed to one Sātavāhana, and similarly the Siri Sātakarṇi of all the coins has been said to be one. In the case of the coins bearing the name Siri Sātavāhana, an attempt has been made to scrutinise closely the palaeography of the coins, but nothing of the kind was done in the case of coins bearing the name of Siri Sātakarṇi. However, in my opinion, any attempt to suggest any date or chronology for any coin on the basis of palaeography is nothing more than hair-splitting and serves no purpose. For this only the motifs of the coins themselves may be of some help.

Here it deserves notice that the coins of Bull type (Type 1) with the name Siri Sātakarṇi have a triangle-headed standard in front of the animal, while the Elephant type (Type 4) with the name Siri Sātakarṇi has the symbol four circles with a crescent above the animal. Similarly the coins of Type 2 with Bull and the name Sātavāhana have a three-arched hill above the animal and the coins of Type 5 with the Elephant and the same name have the four circle symbol above the animal, like that of Type 4 and also another symbol, *viz.*, triangle-headed standard before the animal. Thus each of the types is different. These distinctions of small symbols on the obverse surely had some meaning; and to my mind it could only be that the issuers of the types were not one and the same. Thus there were two Siri Sātakarṇis and two Siri Sātavāhanas during this period. That those who issued coins with Bull obverse were earlier and those with Elephant later may very well be inferred from the fact that Elephant motif continued in the later period while the Bull motif became rare if not obsolete. Śrī Sātakarṇi of the Bull type was the earliest, as his coin was found in the earliest layer 12 of Trench E. After his coin, no coin is known in layers 9–11 and then they are known in layer 8 and above in Trenches A–H and in layer 3 of Trenches I, X and Y.

The chronology of the coins would thus be—

Bull Type with triangle-headed standard in front — Siri Sātakarṇi I;
Bull Type with three-arched hill above the animal — Siri Sātavāhana I;
Elephant Type with four circles and crescent above the animal — Siri Sātakarṇi II;
Elephant Type with the symbol above the front of the animal — Siri Sātavāhana II.

Coins with simply the name *Sātavāhana* in copper and square in shape (Type 3) have also been found in these trenches and layers. They probably belonged to a third Sātavāhana. This type has no symbol above the bull, which places it distinct from the above coins; but reverse being not fully restored, it is difficult to say anything more for the present. Similarly a third Sātakarṇi is suggested by the coin with lion motif (Type 6). Issuers of Types 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 might be different from all the above; but on them the legend is not visible; so nothing can be said about the chronology of Types 7, 10 and 12. About Types 11 and 13 it may be said with absolute certainty that they were issued by the last ruler of the series, as the reverse bears a type of tree, which is distinct from the types of tree seen on all other types; and this type of tree is frequently seen on the coins found in layers above layer 8 and its co-eval layers.

Layers 6 to 2 of Trenches A–H bear out a neat and clean chronology for the coins they have yielded. Just above the coins described above, we have the coins which may be described as follows :—

1. No. 6657 (Pl. 81.3); F. 6; Copper Square.
   No. 1880 (Pl. 79.2); D. 5; Copper Square.

   Obverse : Humped bull facing right; legend above (*Ra*)*ño Kochiputa*(*sa*) *Siri Sātakaṇisa.*

   Reverse : Tree of five leaves in railing; the railing is rectangular with one horizontal and two vertical bars. All enclosed in a double-line border.

The first of these coins is described in the *Report* under the group of coins with uncertain legend and with doubt *ño ccha* has been read on it. But the illustration clearly shows *ko* after *ña* and is followed by *cha*, thereafter truncated *pa* and traces of *ta* are also seen. As such, the legend on it may be read with certainty as (*Ra*)*ño Kochiputa*. The other coin is described in the *Report* under later Sātakarṇis. Here the legend above the bull is off the flan while that below the bull is quite clear, which is read as *Sātakaṇisa*. The two coins are quite alike and suggest that they are of the same series and on them the legend began from the top left corner and continued over all the top and left side and came down to the lower side. Thus the complete legend may well be restored as *Raño Kochiputasa Siri Sātakaṇisa*. These coins are in the continued tradition of Type 3 with the name Sātavāhana described earlier; only the auxiliary symbols are missing from the reverse of these coins. This brings a new name. An identical coin had occurred in layer 9 of Trench E according to the *Report*; but unfortunately, for unknown reasons, the coin is not described. This indicates that the coin is a fairly early one, but may be placed after Sātavāhana II. The king having this matronymic is not known from any other source so far. A coin (No. 2026) of copper, square in shape, is reported to have been found in layer 5 of Trench C; but it is not illustrated. However, it is said in the *Report* that it bears on the obverse an elephant with some symbol at the back; the reverse is peeled off. This was an interesting coin, which would have been issued in this period by probably some other rulers; but unfortunately it is damaged and is not illustrated.

2. No. 5287 (Pl. 83.7); F 6; Copper Rectangular.
   Obverse : A very big and bold *svastika* with the tips probably pronged.
   Reverse : defaced.

This coin-type, so far as the metal and shape are concerned, is similar to above coins and has been found in a co-eval layer; its type is new but unfortunately nothing can be said about it.

3. No. 4106 (Pl. 83.6); E. 4; Lead Round.
   Obverse : Three-arched hill with crescent; the base is protruding on either side and is a little thick; below it a line; around traces of legend.
   Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb (not illustrated).

4. No. 4363 (Pl. 74.5); H. 4; Lead Rectangular (fragment).
   Obverse : Three-arched hill.
   Reverse : Ujjain symbol.

The type of these coins is well-known from the Deccan; but unfortunately the legends are missing from these coins. So, no definite attribution is possible. But it may be pointed out that the coins of Type 3 are known elsewhere as exclusively having the legend *Raño Siri Sātakaṇisa.* So, on the basis of those coins this may also be attributed to him. As regards the coin of Type 4, it is not possible to say anything, but in all probability it belonged to some other ruler.

5. No. 2287 (Pl. 80.1); B. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1708A (not illustrated); B. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1986 (Pl. 78.3); C. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3416 (not illustrated); E. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3199 (not illustrated); E. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 4305 (not illustrated); G. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 3910 (Pl. 80.2); G. 4; Copper Round.
   No. 1448 (Pl. 80.3); C. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 1189 (not illustrated); D. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 1398 (Pl. 82.2); D. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 2691 (not illustrated); E. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 2593 (Pl. 82.3); E. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 825 (Pl. 80.6); A. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 669 (Pl. 82.5); F. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 3597 (Pl. 82.1); H. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 1754 (not illustrated); H. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 4977 (Pl. 80.7); Y. 1; Copper Round.
   No. 1952 (Pl. 80.3); Y. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 133 (not illustrated); Y. 2; Copper Round.
   No. 1941 (Pl. 82.4); Y. 2; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant walking right with trunk upraised. Some coins do not seem to have any auxiliary symbol; but some have a symbol over the back or in front of the animal. They need proper scrutiny. Traces of legend above.

Reverse : Tree of seven round leaves in a railing. The tree is depicted in various forms like(i) one leaf at the top; three leaves on either side placed either straight or slanting up; (ii) one leaf at the top; one branch on either side and each branch has the leaves as three prongs; (iii) leaves arranged in the form of a circle.

6. No. 3126 (not illustrated); F. 3; Lead Round.

Obverse : Elephant facing right.

Reverse : Effaced.

All the copper coins of Type 5 belong to one fabric and are distinct from other coins. They have been found in almost all the trenches in layers 2 to 4. They mainly belong to layers 3 and 4 and in layer 2 they are only survivals. The legend on all the coins is extremely truncated. In the *Report*. attempt has been made to read parts of *Gotamiputa* on some coins and of *Sātakaṇi* on some others. But I could see only *puta* or *putasa* on some of the coins and only traces of *sa* on some others. So, I consider it hazardous to attribute these coins to any ruler on the basis of the fragments of the legend. However, it may be said on the basis of the forms of the tree on the reverse and different auxiliary symbols on the obverse that the coins were issued by more than one ruler, and it is not unlikely that the issuers might be three or four. The lone lead coin (Type 6) has little in itself to make out anything.

7. No. 1462 (Pl. 79.1); D. 3; Copper Round.

Obverse : Elephant facing right, above *ño Satakaṇi*(*sa*).

Reverse : Ujjain symbol (with crescent which is off the flan).

This is the coin of the well-known Chanda-Tarhala type. Its find in the upper layer (layer 3) is an indication that coins of this type were issued very late in the history of the Sātavāhanas. The rulers issuing this type of coins were posterior to the rulers who issued the coins of the types described earlier. Thus, this is most important.

8. No. 1545 (Pl. 83.3); G. 3; Copper Round.
   No. 855 (Pl. 83.1); Copper Round.

Obverse : A lion standing facing right with some kind of standard in front; surrounded by a circle.

Reverse : A conch shell or vase flanked by trident on either side; all in a rayed circle.

The coins of this type were also found in Brahmapuri excavations. ELLIOT had described similar coins in his *Coins of Southern India* (p. 152-b); but the latest view about these coins held by the scholars is that they belong to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Coins of this type, in the collection of P. S. Vaishampayan of Nasik, were picked up from some ancient mounds around Nasik. These show that whosoever had issued these coins had succeeded the Sātavāhanas in this region.

9. No. 1114 (Pl. 81.8); D. 2; Copper Round.

   Obverse : Within a dotted circle a humped bull standing to right; perhaps some symbol before the mouth and on the back of the animal.

   Reverse : Within circle, tree of five branches.

10. No. 730 (Pl. 81.1); X. 1; Lead Round.

   Obverse : Elephant with trunk upraised walking right; traces of blurred legend.

   Reverse : *Svastika*; perhaps a thick crescent to its right.

These two coins have been found from the top layers. Coin-Type 10 seems to be a survival from the layers below, and it might be a Sātavāhana coin of a type not known elsewhere. It might be of Type 2 described above; but the metal and shape differ and the description available is also not the same.

Coin-type 9 apparently looks like associated with the Bull-Tree-type Sātavāhana coins; but in fabric it is quite different and is much closer to the later South Indian uninscribed coins of sixth-seventh century and after.

Thus the Nevasa excavations afford a very good chronological sequence for the various types of Sātavāhana coins. As regards the date, it can only be said that at the bottom layer the uninscribed coins were found which are attributed to second-first century B. C., though not on any firm ground. So the earliest date for the coins may only be placed sometime in the first century B. C. or at the most in the last part of the second century B. C. The Sātavāhana coins are sealed at the top by the Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins here as well as at Brahmapuri. So that might indicate the end of the Sātavāhanas.

The excavators have divided the layers disclosing Sātavāhana coins into two periods :—

(i) Period IV, which they have named as Early Historic and dated between 150 B. C. and 50 B. C.;

and (ii) Period V, which they have called Late Early Historic (Indo–Roman) and dated between 50 B. C. and 200 A. D.

Though I do not agree with these dates for reasons of my own, I would not dispute here the date assigned for the beginning of Period IV, i. e. 150 B. C.

For B. C. 50 as the date for the end of Period IV and the beginning of Period V, the excavators have relied on two evidences :—

(i) The Red Polished Ware of Roman type;

and (ii) the Roman Bullae found in the excavations.

The dating of the Wares depends on circumstantial evidences. They have referred in this connection to the finds of some other excavations. They say that the Rouletted ware has been dated at Arikamedu and Sisupalgarh from about the first century B. C. to the 1st-2nd century A. D. At Brahmagiri and Chandravalli it has been assigned to a period from 1st to 3rd century A. D. The amphorae have been put to about the 1st century B. C. at Taxila and *c.* 1st century A. D. at Arikamedu. The decorated Megarian-like also belongs to this period. The Andhra criss-cross painted ware from Nevasa, which is identical in design and fabric with those from Brahmagiri, may not be prior to the first century A. D. I do not know what firm evidence the archaeologists had for these datings; but as a numismatist I know that finds of Roman coins reveal that Roman trade in India began only in the time of Augustus (31 B. C.–14 A. D.). As such no Roman find can be dated in the pre-Christian era. Roman trade activities shifted from the lands of the Cholas to the lands of the Sātavāhanas only in the second century A. D. The coins of Rome found in the northern Sātavāhana region only belong to the latter part of the second century A. D. So, if any Roman object is found in the Sātavāhana territories it could not be dated earlier than the second century A. D. So the end of Period IV could only be placed towards the end of the first century A. D. or the beginning of the second century A. D.

The bullae, which are said to be copies of Roman coins, were found in the Nevasa excavations in layer 2 of Trench D (No. 902; Pl. 83.4) and on surface (No. 902A; Pl. 83.5). I do not think that any of them is a copy of the coins of Emperor Augustus; but even if they be, I do not know how they can be used for dating layers 6, 7 and 8 when they have been found almost on the top. The third piece, which is called bulla (No. 1890; Pl. 83.2), is of gold and, in fact, is not a bulla but a Sassanian coin. It has been found in Trench D, layer 4. It may give some idea for dating. Unfortunately, the coin is mutilated; otherwise we could have known the name of the issuer and also his period and then could say something with precision. As it is, any Sassanian coin on Indian soil cannot be placed at any date earlier than the beginning of the third century A. D. If this be the date of the gold coin, then the date for the end of Period IV and the beginning of Period V could be placed on this evidence only in the second century A. D. And this would naturally shift the beginning of Period IV to a later date in the first century A. D.[2]

As to the end of Period V, any date may be fixed on the basis of the later uninscribed coins in the third-fourth century A. D.[3]

There might be places of disagreement; but I am sure here in this paper is some thought-provoking material for the history and chronology of the Sātavāhana rulers. I hope the historians, the numismatists and the archaeologists would ponder over these suggestions patiently and carefully.

REFERENCES

1. The motifs described here and elsewhere in the following pages are based on the restoration made with the help of several coins either in this excavation or known from elsewhere.

2. [Cf. I : 8 above — Ed.].

3. [For a somewhat different suggestion on this point, see I : 8 above — Ed.].

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II : 4

GUPTA COINS FROM EXCAVATIONS

By

K. D. BAJPAI

The study of the Gupta coinage started in the year 1783 with the discovery of a hoard of gold coins at Kalighat near Calcutta. These coins were of the later Gupta emperors. Since then several hoards of Gupta coins have been discovered in various parts of northern India. In West Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Rajasthan and Haryana, several important hoards of the coins of the Imperial Guptas have been discovered. A few hoards are also known from Damoh, Khargon and Betul districts of Madhya Pradesh. The biggest hoard of Gupta gold coins, originally numbering about 2,100, was found in the year 1946 near Bayana in Rajasthan. But out of the entire hoard, only 1821 gold coins could be rescued. They belong to six Gupta emperors beginning from Candragupta I to Skandagupta.

Apart from the hoards of the Gupta coins, stray gold, silver and copper coins, both of the Imperial Guptas and of other Gupta rulers, have been obtained from various sites in northern India. It may be noted that very few Gupta coins are reported from the South. Barring the Kumarkhan hoard in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat, no Gupta hoard, worth mention, is known from the region south of the river Narmada. The Kumarkhan hoard contained only 9 gold coins of the Imperial Guptas.

Excavations have been conducted during the last 25 years at several historical sites in northern India. Some of these sites have yielded Gupta coins, mostly in gold and copper. The excavations conducted at Eran by the University of Saugar have brought to light four types of copper coins of Rāmagupta. These types are (1) Lion, (2) Garuḍa, (3) Garuḍadhvaja and (4) Border-legend type. All the coins of Rāmagupta are of copper, varying in weight from 20 to 30 grains. The coins are circular in shape and their fabric is very much similar to the Nāga coins, which have been discovered in large numbers at Eran, Vidiśā, Kutwār (ancient Kāntipurī) and Pawāyā (Padmāvatī). The name of Rāmagupta is clearly written on some of the coins excavated at Eran. The symbols — Lion, *Garuḍa* and *Garuḍadhvaja* — are also quite distinct on them. The Brāhmī legend on the coins is early Gupta. The stratigraphic evidence tallies with the numismatic evidence. On the basis of this it can be said that the coins were issued about the close of the 4th century A. D.

Besides the coins of Rāmagupta, Eran has also yielded copper coins of Candragupta Vikramāditya. These are of two types, Cakra and Pūrṇaghaṭa.

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The excavations at Vidiśā conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India have also brought to light copper coins of Rāmagupta. In size and fabric they resemble the Eran coins of that ruler.

Rāmagupta can be called the originator of the copper currency in the Imperial Gupta dynasty. His numerous copper coins with certain characteristic features of this dynasty should be taken into consideration when we study the coinage of the Imperial Guptas. It is true that the monetary issues of Rāmagupta were minted in eastern Malwa, specially in the mints at Eran and Vidiśā. Prior to the conquest of this area by Samudragupta, the mints at Eran and Vidiśā used to coin the money of the local Nāga rulers. It is a well-known fact that several Nāga chiefs were conquered by Samudragupta. It was in the fitness of things that the coins of Rāmagupta, after the conquest of the Nāga territories and after the death of Samudragupta, were prepared in the mints of the region previously occupied by the Nāgas. The same procedure was followed by Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I also, whose coins of the Malwa type are too well-known.

ALLAN, and following him, several other scholars have mistaken the figure of *garuḍa* for an *altar*, a *fire-altar* or a *Tulasī Vṛndāvana*. We have to remember in this connection that various varieties of the bird *garuḍa* occurring on the coins of Rāmagupta are met with on the silver and copper coins of the Gupta rulers from Candragupta II onwards. On some coins of these kings we also notice the figure of *garuḍa* holding snakes, a feature so common on several coins of Rāmagupta.

The depiction of three-headed Garuḍa on certain coins of Rāmagupta reminds us of the multi-headed figures of Śiva and Kārttikeya found on the Kuṣāṇa and certain tribal coins of India as well as on sculptures. This kind of three-headed *garuḍa* can be seen on some silver coins of Kumāragupta I, illustrated by ALLAN. Some coins of Candragupta II represent *garuḍa* similar to the figure found on Type IV of the coins of Rāmagupta.

Recently three inscribed images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras have been discovered at Vidiśā. The Brāhmī inscriptions incised on their pedestals mention *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Rāmagupta*. On palaeographical and artistic grounds the statues can be assigned to the last quarter of the 4th century A. D. The numismatic evidence is thus supported by the newly discovered inscriptions. This new evidence has given weightage to the historicity of Rāmagupta. Coins of Rāmagupta have been discovered from surface in large numbers from Vidiśā and the region around.

Excavations conducted at the well-known historical sites like Kauśāmbī, Rājghāṭ, Vaiśālī, Śrāvastī, Kanauj and Mathurā have yielded a few coins, seals and sealings belonging to the Gupta period. No adequate study of this important material has so far been made. The only published information about this material is available from the pages of *Indian Archaeology – A Review* and from a few articles. It is extremely necessary that the numismatic evidence obtained from the excavations of these and other sites is studied and duly published. This will help scholars in the study of some problems pertaining to the history of the Gupta period.

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